



THE



QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No 429
18

VOL. 137.

PUBLISHED IN

JULY & OCTOBER, 1874.

L O N D O N:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1874.

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‘**B** RITAIN,’ writes the so-called Nennius,* quoting from the Welsh Triads, ‘containeth three considerable islands: whereof one lieth over against the Armorican shore, and is called Inis gueith; the second is situated in the navel of the sea between Ireland and Britain, and its name is called Eubonia, that is Manau; another is situated in the furthest verge of the British world beyond the Picts, and is named Orc. So was it said in the proverb of old when one spake of its judges, and kings, “He judged Britain with its three islands.”’ Other pens have described in this ‘Review’ her northern sisters, ‘the storm-swept Orcades,’ and the bleak house of the heroic Charlotte de la Tremouille; and the saintly Wilson. It is our present purpose

* ‘Nennius,’ § 8. ‘The work which bears the name of Nennius was most probably written in the eighth century. It is a compilation made originally without much judgment. . . . Still, however, it contains fragments of earlier works which are of great interest and value.’—Guest, ‘Early English Settlements in South Britain,’ *Transact. of Arch. Inst., Salisbury* volume, p. 36. The original of the passage given above is found in one of the Welsh Triads quoted by Dr. Guest in the ‘*Proceedings of the Philological Society*,’ i. 9: ‘The three primary adjoining islands of the Isle of Britain, Orc, Manaw, and Gwyth, and afterwards the sea broke the land, so that Mon became an island and in the same manner the isle of Orc was broken.’

to devote a few pages to the leader of the 'laughing train' of 'little isles on every side'—

'Wight who checks the westering tide,' *

which, as old Drayton says in his long-drawn lines—

'Of all the southern isles hath held the highest place,
And evermore hath been the great'st in Britain's grace.'

The name of the Isle of Wight at once calls up ideas of all that is most lovely in scenery and genial in climate. Sung by poets, painted by artists, eulogized by physicians, the favourite resort alike of the pleasure-seeker and the invalid, the artist and the geologist; a household word with Englishmen, which all either have seen or intend to see; few spots in the wide world are more often thought of with loving thankfulness. How many are the weary labourers of this over-worked generation in whose minds it is connected with days or weeks of the purest happiness, snatched from the

• 'noise and smoke of town,'

and dreamt away among their merry children on its pebbly beaches, or beneath its ivy-clad rocks, gazing out on the wide expanse of the limitless ocean, drinking in health and refreshment both for mind and body with every breeze! These grateful memories swell into a deeper and more sacred feeling with those who, on the first approach of that fell destroyer of the youngest and loveliest—consumption—have borne their loved ones from bleaker and less genial homes to winter on its sunny slopes beneath the sheltering wall of its gigantic downs, and have seen with thankfulness the glow return to the wan cheek and vigour to the enfeebled limbs; or if this has been denied them, and the disease has run its fatal course to its sad end, have at least enjoyed the consolation of knowing that life has been prolonged, suffering lessened, and that the invalids' closing days have been brightened by the loveliness around them: that if their sun has set, it has not set in darkness and gloom.

But it is not every one for whom our island awakens such solemn memories as these,—memories which we must almost apologize for referring to. With the artist the Isle of Wight speaks of many a treasured addition to the sketch-book. Many a young observer has, like the lamented Strickland, learnt his first geological lessons in this island, which, in the words of Mr. Hopkins,† seems almost to have been 'cut out by Nature for a model illustrative of the phenomena of stratification;'

* Collins, 'Ode to Liberty.'

† 'Cambridge Essays,' 1857, p. 185.
while

while a whole host of accomplished geologists—including such honoured names as Webster, Sedgwick, and the too early-lost Forbes—have here pursued investigations, the fruits of which have enriched the scientific world. The botanist has many a pleasant memory of prizes secured for the ‘hortus siccus,’ among its woods, downs, bogs, and sandhills, or on the level reefs, fertile in seaweeds, that fortify its coasts. Indeed, whatever his tastes may be, no one with any eye or feeling for the beauties of nature can have visited the Isle of Wight without acquiescing in the panegyric passed upon it by Sir Walter Scott,* as ‘that beautiful island which, he who has once seen, never forgets, through whatever part of the world his future path may carry him.’

The rhomboidal form of the Isle of Wight, likened by various observers to a turbot, a bird with expanded wings, and a heraldic lozenge, the two diameters measuring roughly 23 and 14 miles, is due both to its geological formation and to the unequal action of the sea on the coast-line, eating out the softer strata of the Lower Greensand and Wealden beds into the wide concavities of Sandown and Chale Bays, while the harder chalk is left in bold projecting headlands.

The leading feature in the Isle of Wight, both from a geological and picturesque point of view, is the high undulating ridge of bare swelling chalk downs, running from end to end of the island, of which it forms, as it were, the backbone, ruling its whole physical structure, and rising sheer from the sea at either extremity in bold mural precipices honeycombed with caverns; forming the Culver Cliffs to the east, and the Main Bench and Needles headland to the west. The Needles themselves are simply shattered remnants of the chalk ridge that once stretched continuously across the channel to the Isle of Purbeck: huge wedge-shaped pinnacled masses left while all about them has yielded to the ceaseless dash of the breakers.

Towards the centre of the island these chalk downs, instead of being limited to a single narrow wall, form two or three parallel ridges with outliers: here, cut into combs and dingles with steeply sloping sides clothed with rich foliage, or shagged with aged thorns dwarfed or twisted by the fierce blasts with which they have had to maintain a lifelong struggle; there, closing in and forming long sequestered glens, or rounding into smooth elbows, or dipping down their undulating arms into the sand-valleys below. As we approach either extremity the ridge diminishes in breadth, being scarcely a quarter of a mile broad at

* ‘Surgeon’s Daughter,’ chap. vi.

Afton Down above Freshwater Gate, while the strata more and more nearly approach to verticality, evidenced to the eye by the black lines of flints scoring the white face of the chalk with as much regularity as the lines of a copy-book.

The southern promontory presents another range of chalk downs—Shanklin, St. Boniface, and St. Catherine's Downs—containing the highest ground in the island, little short of 800 feet above the sea-level, throwing off huge pier-like projecting arms northwards into the valley of denudation,—for the most part displaying an undulating surface of the Lower Greensand, sometimes running in ridges, sometimes swelling in isolated hillocks, sometimes furrowed into gullies and watered by the Medina and the Yar and their tiny tributaries,—which divides this range from the central ridge.

The axis of the upheaving force which raised the central ridge appears to have coincided with a line drawn from near Sandown Fort to somewhere between Brighthelm and Brook. At each extremity of this anticlinal line in Compton and Sandown Bays, the Wealden emerges from under the Lower Greensand, and attracts the geologist by its Saurian remains and rafts of fossil trees.

Immediately below the chalk lies the Upper Greensand, whose mural escarpment and shelf-like outline contrast forcibly with the smooth rounded forms of the chalk. It is this formation to which the scenery of the Undercliff owes its most characteristic feature in the vast vertical wall, furrowed by time and stained with the tenderest hues, which stretches almost without interruption from Bonchurch to Chale.

Next comes the Gault, locally known as 'the blue slipper,' from its colour, and the tendency of the superincumbent strata to slip or slide on the smooth unctuous surface of its clays, when moistened by the copious land springs which percolate through the chalk and sandstone. It is to this that the gigantic landslip that under the healing hand of nature has created the romantic beauty of the Undercliff is due. The base of the sandstone wall being undermined by the springs, the overhanging masses were torn away by their own weight and carried downwards on the slippery surface of the gault, until they encountered some obstacle which checked their descent, and caused them to hang picturesquely poised on the steep grassy slope, where, draped with ivy and a profusion of graceful creepers, they afford shelter to early primroses and violets, which cluster round their base, and, with 'a budding world' of purple orchises and curling fern-fronds, form a picture of surpassing loveliness.

The northern half of the island between the central chalk-ridge

ridge and the Solent is occupied by a succession of the older tertiary strata, which form the very remarkable cliffs of Alum Bay. The almost magical beauty of this locality is due to the quick succession of beds of vivid and violently contrasted hues—red, yellow, black, white—upheaved from their naturally horizontal positions, and made to stand on end, as it were, for the convenience of the geologist. One narrow bed of pipe-clay, intervening between the richly-tinted sands, contains impressions of leaves of most exquisite delicacy, belonging to a sub-tropical flora, identical with those in a corresponding bed across the Solent at Bournemouth.

The Chines, though in no sense peculiar to the Isle of Wight, but found under different names wherever the same physical causes operate, are among its best known geological features. They are deep fissures or gullies eaten out of the soft strata of the Lower Greensand by the action of running water, and derive their name from the A.-S. 'cine' or 'cyne,'* a cleft. Some of the most attractive scenery of the island is to be found in these little ravines, which, if they had not at one time received such exaggerated praise, would be more esteemed now. At Shanklin a little rill, tumbling at the head of the glen over a harder bed of rock which checks its action, has worn away a sinuous ravine, the steep sides of which are prettily draped with coppice and creepers, through which the brook wends its way to the sea, which it enters through a mighty gash in the cliffs, 'as if cut with the sword of an Orlando.' Luccombe Chine, a mile or two further along the shore to the south-west, though smaller, has been more left to nature, and is to many more pleasing. The third celebrated chine—that of Blackgang—is a complete contrast to the other two in its bare treeless aspect; and has been so completely vulgarised by smug villas and toy-shops, that to the ordinary visitor it is simply 'a delusion and a snare.' To the geologist the fine sections of the strata presented in its naked sides and sea-front must always make it an object of interest.

Of its earliest inhabitants, the Celtæ, or the Belgæ by whom the former had been displaced shortly before Cæsar's invasion, the Isle of Wight exhibits numerous and distinct traces. The very name by which, under various forms, it has been known for at least the last two thousand years, is in all probability of Celtic origin. The *Ynys Gwyth* of the Welsh Triads, the *Inis*

* The verb 'to chine' was used not only by Spenser,—

'Where biting deepe, so deadly it imprest

That quite it chyned his backe behind the sell.'—*Faerie Quene*, b. iv. c. 6.

but also by Dryden, as quoted by Richardson *sub voc.*—

'He that in his day did chine the long rib'd Apennine.'

Gueith of Nennius, is considered by Dr. Guest to be equivalent to 'the *channel island*.' In accordance with this is the statement of Nennius, or at any rate one of his transcribers, that *guith* in British or Celtic signified 'division,'* a name evidently indicating a belief that at some far remote period it had been severed from the mainland. The crests of nearly all the downs, which stretch in an almost unbroken line from Bembridge at the eastern to Freshwater at the western extremity of the island, are studded with

'The grassy barrows of the happier dead,'

not a few of which are deemed by archæologists good examples of the British barrow. The mounds which stand out so conspicuously against the sky on Shalcombe Down, are said to have been raised over Arwald, the Jutish king of the island, his son, and dependants, who had fallen in battle with Ceadwalla. Interesting groups occur on Chillerton, Brook, Afton, and Asheys Downs. Many, if not most, of these have been rifled, and the contents too frequently broken and dispersed.

But we have traces of the homes as well as of the graves of the people. The steeply-sided, sinuous dells which divide the knot of chalk-downs to the west of Carisbrooke shew groups of shallow bowl-shaped depressions, which have been long popularly known as 'British Villages.' These mark the sites of the rude conical huts of the aboriginal inhabitants,† who had formed their settlements in the valley, under the protection of the hill-forts, the remains of which still crown the ridge above. These excavations occur in groups of two, three, or more, within the compass of a larger ring, which served as a rampart against hostile attacks; each group, or *kraal*, as they would be termed in South Africa, indicating the abode of a single family. The name of the valley in which the largest number of these traces of habitation are found—Gallibury Bottom—serves to confirm the tradition. The British inhabitants of Wessex were known to the Saxons as Wealhas or Gaels, and Gallibury may well indicate the *burh* or 'fortified place' of the barbarous tribes found here by the Jutish invaders.

Another primæval memorial may be seen where, at the head of a hollow way of unknown antiquity shaded by low spreading oaks above the village of Mottiston—

* 'Quam Britones insulam Gueid vel Gwith vocant, quod Latine *divortium* dici potest.'—MS. C. C. C. Cambridge.

† *Tὰς οἰκήσεις εὐτελείς ἔχουσι ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἢ ξύλων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συγκεκλιμένας.*—Diod. Sicul., lib. v. c. 21, speaking of the inhabitants of Britain.

‘Tinted by Time, the solitary stone
On the green hill of Mote each storm withstood,
Grows dim with hoary lichen overgrown.’

Peel, *The Fair Island*.

This *Longstone*, as it is popularly called, is an example of the *menhirs*, or standing stones, which in former days were so confidently connected with Druidical worship, but of the purpose of which so little is really known. It is a rough quadrangular pillar of ferruginous sandstone, 13 feet in height, and is estimated to weigh little less than 30 tons.

Whether the *Ictis* which Diodorus Siculus describes as the storehouse of the Cornish tin, the mart frequented by the Greek merchants from Marseilles and Narbonne, should be identified with the Isle of Wight, or with St. Michael's Mount, is a question which has been long and hotly debated, and of which we may say ‘adhuc sub judice lis est.’ The discovery of a block of tin, of the shape of an *astragalus*, dredged up at the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, appears to the accomplished Sir Henry James* an irrefragable proof that the port from which the *astragali* of tin mentioned by Diodorus were shipped for the coast of Gaul is to be identified with St. Michael's Mount, and his conclusions were to a considerable extent accepted by the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis.† But the Isle of Wight tradition is too well authenticated to be lightly set aside, and it can hardly be questioned that the *Ictis* of Diodorus, as well as the *Mictis* of Timæus, are merely variations of *Vectis*, the Roman designation of the Isle of Wight. Diodorus, writing from hearsay, without any personal acquaintance with the localities, may have well combined the accounts of the two tin-ports, and produced a description accurately tallying with neither.

The Romans have left fewer and less distinct marks of their occupation, which commenced under Vespasian, acting as lieutenant to Plautius in the invasion of Claudius A.D. 43, and here first ‘designated by the fates for empire,’‡ than in many other parts of England. Besides coins and fragments of pottery, we can point only to the recently discovered villa at Carisbrook. This is small but well preserved, with bath, hypocaust, and the other usual arrangements, and is enriched with a complex tessellated pavement and mural paintings, recalling the decorations of Pompeii.

The state of these remains, like that of Roman buildings

* ‘Archæological Journal,’ No. cxi. pp. 196-202.

† Ibid. For Sir G. C. Lewis' earlier view, see his ‘Astronomy of the Ancients,’ pp. 450-454.

‡ Tacit. Agric. 13, ‘Monstratus fatis Vespasianus.’

generally throughout England, indicates the barbarism which, after the departure of the Romans, had rudely sought to stamp out the civilization they had brought with them but had failed to naturalize. Not a single article of value was discovered in its ruins. Everywhere there were traces of the occupation of a savage people; fires had been kindled on the beautiful tessellated floors; the bones of deer, sheep, and other animals, strewn about the rooms, spoke of the coarse repasts which had succeeded to the 'noctes cœnæque deûm' of the countrymen of Lucullus and Apicius. The ruin was evidently due not to gradual decay, but to wilful destruction.

The evidences of the Anglo-Saxon occupancy are limited to the sepulchral barrows and their contents. These are very numerous, and few cemeteries in the country have yielded a richer harvest than that on 'Chessell Down,' near Freshwater. Among many other discoveries indicating a considerable advance in wealth and refinement, we may particularize the skeleton of an infant with its bronze rattle; of a female with the bodkin which had confined her hair still lying at the back of her head, and her bronze needle and scissors by her side; a silver spoon, with its capacious bowl washed with gold; and balls of crystal with silver mountings—mysterious objects which, from the time of the entrance of the Jews into Canaan* to that of Lilly and Dr. Dee, have been associated with magical rites, and unhallowed prying into futurity.

The Saxon, or rather Jutish, occupation of the island dates from 530, when Cerdic of Wessex, and his son Cynric, subsequently to their conquests on the mainland, crossed the Solent, and, after a bloody battle, stormed the *burh* or stronghold at Carisbrooke, and made themselves masters of Wight. Four years later, on Cerdic's death, the island was granted to his nephews, probably the sons or grandsons of his sister, who had married a Jutish husband—Stuf, and the eponymic hero, whose real name has been completely lost in that derived from his island achievements, Wiht-gar, 'the spear of Wight.' Wihtgar, according to Florence of Worcester, died in 544, and was buried in the citadel called after him Wihtgaresburh, which, though so altered by decapitation and phonetic corruption as to be hardly recog-

* The Hebrew מַשְׁכֵּית, Lev. xxvi., Numb. xxxiii. 52, Prov. xxv. 11 ('image of stone,' 'pictures,' E. V.; λίθος σκοπός, σκοπία, LXX.), has been interpreted by Spenser ('de Legibus,' vol. i.), Delrius ('Disquis. Magic.' lib. iv. c. 2, p. 468), Douglas, and others, of these divining balls. See for a long and learned disquisition on the point, Douglas' 'Nenia Britannica,' p. 14, § 9. Such crystal balls, set in precious metals, were found in the tomb of King Childeric at Tournay, as well as in a large number of the Kentish (Jutish) barrows opened by Douglas and Faussett.

nizable, still preserves in its name of Carisbrooke the memory of its Jutish lord. The little island-kingdom continued dependent on Wessex for more than a century, till, in 661, Wulfhere of Mercia ravaged it, and transferred it to Ethelwald, king of the South Saxons. Ethelwald was a convert to Christianity. Wulfhere had been his sponsor, and with that union of sanguinary barbarism and fierce zeal for the faith which so often characterized these half-leavened heathens,* made the extirpation of paganism a condition of the gift to his royal godson. The neighbouring county of Sussex, then just emerging from heathenism under Wilfrid's teaching, furnished a missionary, Eoppa,† who, in the words of the A.-S. Chronicle, 'first of men brought baptism to the people of Wight.' But Eoppa's mission proved a failure, and when, twenty years later, A.D. 686, the island was again ravaged by Ceadwalla, after the death of Ethelwald in battle, the whole Jutish population were found heathen, and, as such, were doomed to extermination by 'the fierce catechumen.'‡

Fielding, the novelist, when provoked beyond endurance by the extortions of his shrewish landlady at Ryde, says sarcastically, 'Certain it is the island of Wight was not an early convert to Christianity, nay, there is some reason to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted.' Whatever may be thought of his inference, the great novelist was correct in his history. It has often been remarked as singular that, while the Jutes of Kent were the first of the Anglo-Saxon race to embrace the Christian religion, their kinsmen in Wight should have been the last to do so. This is, doubtless, attributable to the insular position of Wight, the Solent Sea—'pelagus solvens,' as Bede styles it, false in etymology but true in fact—cutting its people off from intercourse with the mainland as effectually in those days of timid navigation, as the dense forests of the Andredesweald did their pagan neighbours in Sussex, whose conversion, due to the same great Christian pioneer, only preceded that of Wight by a few years.§ Before he started on his enterprise, Ceadwalla, as it were

* "I cannot bear to see the finest provinces of Gaul in the hands of these heretics," cried Clovis with all the zeal of a new convert. The clergy blessed the pious sentiment, and the orthodox barbarian was rewarded with a series of bloody victories.—Kemble, 'Anglo-Saxons,' vol. ii. p. 355.

† Eoppa is mentioned by Bede, 'Eccl. Hist.,' iv. 14, as one of Wilfrid's Sussex clergy and Abbot of Selsey. The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' also says, sub anno 661, that 'Eoppa the mass priest, by the command of Wilfrid and king Wulfhere, first brought baptism to the "people of Wight."' From this it would follow that both the earlier and later missions were directed by Wilfrid.

‡ 'Adelwold, being greatly desyrus to make the people of the Isle to taste of Christ, sent one Eoppa a priest to preache the worde unto them, but he profited nothinge.'—Lambarde, 'Topograph. and Histor. Dict. of England,' 1730, p. 395.

§ Jeremy Taylor, to whom no historical or classical illustration, however incongruous,

were to bribe the powerful God of the Christians to favour his arms, had vowed that, if successful, he would devote a fourth part of the land and spoil to Christ. The ubiquitous Wilfrid, who in consequence of 'the sad scenes of sacerdotal jealousy and strife which made his course almost a constant feud, and himself an object of unpopularity, even of persecution,'* has hardly secured the place he merits as one of the most enterprising and successful of missionaries, was at hand to register the youthful warrior's vow. On the success of his arms in Wight, Wilfrid—of whom Fuller appositely remarks that 'his *παρέργα* were better than his *ἔργα*, his casual and occasional better than his intentional performances,'† —eager to renew the spiritual victories vouchsafed him by God among the barbarians on the shores of the Baltic, and, still more recently, among the savage population of Sussex, claimed the promised fourth part as God's heritage. The claim was allowed. Three hundred families were spared from massacre, and tradition points to the site of Brading Church as the scene of the admission of the heathen Jutes into the Christian faith. Scarcely had the foundations of a Christian church in Wight been laid, when Wilfrid was recalled to Northumbria, and he was compelled to entrust the carrying on the work to other hands.

The history of this interesting epoch would be incomplete were we to omit the affecting episode of the two young princes, sons or brothers of Arwald, the Jutish king, who, having escaped the slaughter of their kindred, were discovered in their hiding-place of Stoneham, 'Ad Lapidem,' near Southampton, and doomed to death by Ceadwalla, but were spared for a little space at the intercession of Cynibehrt, Abbot of Redbridge, that he might teach and baptize them before they had to die; and who, in the words of Bede, who tells the tale with beautiful simplicity,‡ 'joyfully underwent a temporal death, by which they did not doubt that they should pass to an eternal life of the soul,' and found a place in the martyrology of the Roman Church, which keeps the 21st of August as the anniversary of 'Fratres Regis Arvaldi MM.'

The position of the Isle of Wight, so open to hostile descent

incongruous, ever came amiss, from 'the Ephesian matron' of Petronius to 'Veneatadius Ragium, king of Narsinga,' records Ceadwalla's conquest of the Isle of Wight among the triumphs of prayer (Jeremy Taylor's works, Heber's edition, vol. iii. p. 91). We fear that the facts dispel the illusion.

* Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' vol. ii. p. 90.

† 'Wilfrid was one of great parts and greater passions . . . as nightingales sing sweetest the farthest from the nests, so this man was most diligent in his services when at the greatest distance from his home.'—Fuller, 'Ch. Hist.,' cent. vii. § 97, 98.

‡ Bede, 'Hist. Eccl.,' lib. iv. c. 16.

by

by sea, and so convenient as a base of operations on the mainland, rendered it from very early times a second Cythera, and we can well believe that some Chilon of the day has before now wished it sunk in the sea.* Indeed the history of the island, from the eighth to the sixteenth century, is little more than that of successive piratical invasions, ravages by fire and sword, and hostile occupations, and of the measures adopted for the defence of its coasts. But incessant as were their descents, culminating in the terrible devastations of 1001, when fire and sword swept over the whole island, the Danes made no permanent settlement in Wight. Local nomenclature, that invaluable handmaid to history, is here our guide; and the entire absence of Danish elements in the names of places—the bys, and holms, and thorps—which are so abundant in the East of England, proves beyond question that the Danes came for booty, not for tillage, and looked on the island as a sojourning-place, not as a home.

The establishment of the strong rule of the Conqueror opened a new and happier æra for the harassed island. The feudal system being introduced, the Lordship of this exposed and dangerous outpost was committed to the famous seneschal, William FitzOsbern, the Duke's nearest personal friend, the prime mover in the conquest of England, who, by his vigorous counsels, had fixed the wavering resolve of William on the receipt of the news of the Confessor's death; and who had proved his chief agent, together with Odo of Bayeux, in the reduction of the conquered country, where the very name of 'the great oppressor,' so dear to the Normans, struck terror into the hearts of the English.†

We know not whether FitzOsbern ever set foot in his island fief. A chartulary of Carisbrooke Priory indeed ascribes to him the *conquest* of the island, but this may safely be regarded as a blunder. A district impoverished of men and means by a century or two of Danish ravages, was not likely to be in a position to think of withstanding its Norman lord. He erected a small priory at Carisbrooke, dependent on the Abbey of Lire (de Lyra), in the diocese of Evreux, of which he had been the founder, as well as of Cormeilles, in which, still Norman at heart, he was buried by his own desire. The lordship passed

* Herod. vii. 235: ἔστι δὲ . . . νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων, ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν.

† Freeman, 'Norman Conquest,' vol. iii. p. 324. 'Hunc Normannis carissimum Anglis maximo terrori esse sciebat.'—Will. Pict. 149. 'Primus et maximus oppressor Anglorum.'—Orderic.

to his second son Roger, and on the defeat of his conspiracy escheated to the Crown.

The island was visited by William himself twice towards the close of his reign. It was here, in 1082, that his unlooked-for appearance dispersed the ambitious dreams of his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, as he was gathering the forces with which he was about to start for Rome, in the hope, encouraged by the utterances of soothsayers, of being chosen successor of Hildebrand when he should vacate the Papal throne. In the 'Aula Regia' of the island, while the assembled barons shrunk in religious dread from executing their master's command by 'laying hands on a consecrated bishop, William—the subtle mind of Lanfranc, it is said, suggesting the distinction'—himself arrested him as Earl of Kent; under which title, the remonstrances of the Bishop of Bayeux being unheeded, he was hurried off to Normandy, and kept prisoner in the castle of Rouen* till William's decease. The second visit was in 1087, on his last voyage from England to Normandy, not many months before his death. The lordship of the Isle of Wight, escheated to the Crown on the rebellion of the younger FitzOsbern, was in the early part of his reign granted by Henry I. to Richard de Redvers (de Ripariis), Earl of Devon, one of the five barons who had adhered unwaveringly to him during his struggle with his brother Robert. It remained in his lineal descendants through a long series of De Redvers and De Vernons, until the reign of Edward I., when Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle and Lady of Wight, who had outlived all her children and near kinsmen, sold it on her deathbed, at Stockwell, near London, in 1293, to the King for six thousand marks.

The Lords of the Isle of Wight ruled almost as petty sovereigns within their lordship. An examination of the 'Pleas of Court' and other similar authorities, proves that they enjoyed privileges of feudal service usually restricted to the Crown. Never were these rights more strenuously asserted than when, just as they were about to expire for ever, the lion-hearted Isabella de Fortibus was called upon to substantiate her claim before the King's Justices Itinerant to that 'which belonged to the crown of my Lord the King,' A.D. 1275. 'The heart,' writes Mr. Hillier, 'is touched with the picture of the lone woman, widowed and childless, struggling, the last of her race, to preserve in her own keeping the brightest part of the inheritance of her fathers.' We read with real satisfaction the sentence of the Justices, confirming Isabella in all her ancestral rights,

which she enjoyed until her death undisturbed, except by the priors and monks of the various religious houses in the island, between whom and the Countess there was a perpetual feud.

Liabile as the Isle of Wight was to inroad at all times, hostilities between England and France gave the signal for the commencement of predatory descents, which for three centuries hung over the unfortunate island in a cloud of perpetual menace, ever and anon bursting in a storm of devastation. The reigns of the Plantagenet Edwards, though fertile in alarms, do not record any serious invasion. The French were continually hovering about its coasts, and from time to time we hear of their landing and inflicting some damage. But the vigorous system of defence organized by Edward I., immediately on his becoming possessed of the lordship of the island, joined to the natural prowess of its men—‘the island,’ according to Camden, being ‘not so well fortified by its rocks and castles as by its inhabitants, who are naturally warlike and courageous’—effectually prevented their making any lodgment there. When in 1340 the French had landed at St. Helen’s Point in some force, and were making their way into the interior, they were attacked by a hastily-raised body of the islanders, headed by the Captain of the Isle, Sir Theobald Russell, of Yaverland—the ancestor of the noble house of Bedford—and were driven back to their ships with great loss, Russell himself falling in the moment of victory. Thirty years later, at the commencement of the feeble reign of Richard II., the French power was in the ascendant, and the island suffered grievously. The whole of the southern coast of England was insulted and plundered by the French fleet, which completely mastered the Isle of Wight, plundering and burning the towns of Newport, Francheville (Newtown), and Yarmouth, and desolating the whole country. Carisbrooke alone held out against the invaders, who here received a decisive check from the loss of their commander, and of a large body of men surprised in an ambuscade which compelled them to retire, after exacting a thousand marks from the pillaged islanders, the greater part of whom left the island for the mainland.*

The title of ‘Lord of the Island’ † sank in a sea of blood—the best blood of the Isle of Wight. The last who enjoyed it, Sir Edward Woodville, the brother of Elizabeth Woodville,

* ‘Rolls of Parliament,’ 2 Ric. II. A.D. 1378.

† The catalogue of the Lords of the Isle contains the names of Edmund, duke of York; the “good Duke Humphrey” of Gloucester; Richard, duke of York, father of Edward IV.; Edmund, duke of Somerset, and his son Henry, duke of Somerset; Lord Rivers, and his son Lord Scales.

the queen of Edward IV., was the leader of 'an ill-judged and disastrous attempt to strengthen the cause of the Duke of Brittany against Charles VIII. of France, with a force raised in his island lordship. A body of 400 yeomen, led by forty gentlemen of the isle, picturesquely accoutred in white coats with broad red crosses, set sail from St. Helen's, and having joined the Duke's forces, engaged the King's army under La Tremouille at St. Aubin's, July 20, 1488. La Tremouille gained a complete victory. Woodville's whole force, against whom the enemy's strength was chiefly directed, was cut to pieces. Only one boy, it is said, escaped, to carry the disastrous news to his native isle. It was long before the Isle of Wight recovered from this overwhelming blow. It had lost the flower of its manhood and youth, the heads to plan and the sinews to work; and there was scarcely a family, either of the gentry or commonalty, which had not personal reasons to deplore Woodville's chivalrous but foolhardy expedition.* So critical was the condition of the isle, that it engaged the attention of Parliament, by which an Act was passed the next year, prohibiting any one to hold lands, &c., of a higher annual value than ten marks, in order that the island, which is described in the preamble of the Act as 'of late decayed of people, desolate and not inhabited, the towns and villages let down, the fields dyked and made pasture for beasts,' so that by reason of the scantiness of the population 'the isle cannot be defended, but lieth open and ready to the hands of the King's enemies, as well of our ancient enemies of the realm of France and of other parties,'—might be again well inhabited and able to defend itself from invasion.

The disastrous issue of Woodville's expedition might have been expected to have completely crushed the impoverished island. But so great was the innate vigour of its population, that it soon recovered from the calamity, and in 1545 was able to take an energetic part in repelling the great French Armada, fitted out by Francis I., under the command of D'Annebault, for the invasion of England, whose first object was to obtain possession of the Isle of Wight, the occupation of which 'would be the prelude of an attack on Portsmouth, the destruction of the fleet, and the crippling of the naval power.'† The whole tale has been told by the graphic pen of Mr. Froude, and we refer our

* Henry VII. felt himself so seriously compromised by this expedition, that he addressed a letter to Charles VIII. exonerating himself from all complicity in it. We have Charles's reply ('State Papers, vol. vi. p. 9), accepting Henry's assurance that 'l'alée [the going] dudict feu de Scalles et de noz subgetz quil avoit menez avecques luy en Bretagne estoit sans nostre sceu et conge, et a nostre tres grant desplaisance.'

† Froude, 'Hist. of England,' vol. iv. p. 417 sq.

readers to his 'History' for the narrative of the various unsuccessful attempts of the French to make themselves masters of the island; their landings at different points of the coast—Sea View, St. Helen's, Shanklin—and the undaunted spirit with which the islanders drove them back; their complete rout on Bembridge Down; and the fate of the heroic Chevalier D'Eulx and his watering party cut off by an ambuscade in Shanklin Chine.

In every projected invasion of England the occupation of the Isle of Wight formed part of the invader's plan. When the next great Armada, vaingloriously christened 'the Invincible,' set sail with the Papal blessing from the coasts of Spain, the first object of Medina Sidonia was to seize and fortify the Isle of Wight, as a basis of operations.* Elizabeth's Government was fully aware of the importance of the position, and issued orders for the garrisoning and protection of the island, ably carried out by the then Governor, the Queen's cousin, the energetic Sir George Carey. The whole population became an army: watches were posted on all the heights, with beacons ready to be fired on the first sight of the Spanish fleet: the neighbouring counties on the mainland were charged with the supply of men to aid in the defence of the island, and boats to convey them.† No precaution was omitted. The issue of the expedition is familiar to us all. No foreign soldier even attempted to set foot on the island, beneath whose chalk cliffs some of the severest encounters took place between the light English craft and the huge unwieldy Spanish galleons.

Although the Isle of Wight may look back proudly to the part played by her sons in this crisis of the nation's history, her internal condition was at that time far from prosperous. She was slowly emerging from a condition of the deepest depression under the stern but vigorous rule of Sir George Carey, who had succeeded the daring and unscrupulous Sir Edward Horsey, Leicester's confidant in his intrigue or secret marriage with Lady Douglas Sheffield, whose services as a privateer in the Channel, and with the Earl of Warwick at the disastrous siege of Havre, had been rewarded with the governorship of the Isle

* Motley, 'United Netherlands,' vol. ii. p. 468. Strada, 'De Bello Belgico,' p. 534.

† The island was distributed for purposes of defence into districts called 'centons.' There were ten such in 1583, each commanded by a leading landholder as 'centoneer,' having under him a 'vintoncer,' or lieutenant, and, besides his troop of from 100 to 200 men, a number of 'hobblers,' watchmen mounted on 'hobbies,' or small horses, to ride from place to place and give notice of the enemy's approach. See 'Lansdowne MSS.,' 40, xxiv. A.; 'Bibl. Reg. MSS.,' 18 D. iii.

of Wight.* Indeed the first years of Elizabeth's reign were a gloomy period for the nation at large, and few parts of England presented a more disastrous aspect than the Isle of Wight. The returns of the commission organized by the vigorous mind of Cecil still exist in the Public Record Office for three centons of the island, and the picture is a melancholy one.

The whole island was depopulated and impoverished beyond conception. Newport, its capital, had been 'a great deal more than it is.' Whole streets and villages of artificers and others are described as 'void, and no sign of any housing.' In one parish, that of Arreton, twenty-three tenements were uninhabited. Yarmouth was reduced to a handful of houses, 'not past a dozen,' while in Newtown, which bore marks of having once been 'twice as good as Newport,' scarcely a single good house was standing.

The report of the state of religion† was not brighter. Of eleven parishes included in the return, there were but five in which 'service as by law appointed' was celebrated. At Yarmouth the benefice was unable to find a priest. At Binstead and Whippingham the parsons were non-resident, and the churches were served by a French curate. At Wootton a layman read the Epistle and Gospel, with the procession (the Litany) on Sundays and holidays. The saddest tale is that of St. Helen's. The encroachments of the sea had undermined the foundations of the church, which had fallen into such complete ruin that 'one might look in at one end and out at the other,' while there had been 'never a curate and little service' for many years past, so that 'the parishioners had been fain to bury their corpses themselves.' 'And yet,' adds the indignant commissioner, 'they pay nevertheless their tithes.' The position of St. Helen's, in close proximity to one of the chief naval roads of the South of England, where seamen of the Catholic nations were in the habit of touching for water and fresh provisions, rendered its ruined state a matter of national concernment. 'Foreign sailors,' writes Mr. George

* Sir Edward was the 'Ned Horsey, the ruffling cavalier of Arundel's,' of the picturesque narrative of the plot against Mary, in March 1556, disinterred by Mr. Froude from the Record Office. One part of this scheme was the betraying of the Isle of Wight and Hurst Castle to the French, by the governor, Uvedale. Froude, 'Hist.,' vol. vi. pp. 434, 438.

† 'When Archbishop Parker made a primary visitation of his diocese, some of the beneficed clergy were mechanics, others Romish priests disguised. Many churches were closed. A sermon was not to be heard in some places within a distance of twenty miles. To read, or at least so to read as to be intelligible and impressive, was a rare accomplishment. Even in London many churches were closed for want of ministers, and in the country it was not easy to provide a minister competent to baptize infants and inter the dead.'—Marsden, 'Early Puritans,' p. 100. See also Neale's 'Puritans,' vol. i. c. iv. vi.; Strype's 'Parker,' p. 224.

Oglander, who makes the presentment, 'seeing the shameful using of the same, think that all other churches within the realm be like used, and so have both spoken and done shameful acts in our derision, and what they have said and made report of in their own country God knoweth. It is a gazing stock to all foreign nations.'

Of the internal condition of the island in the early part of the seventeenth century we have a graphic picture in the MS. memoirs of Sir John Oglander. This worthy knight, a loyalist to the backbone, was the representative of a family which first came into the island with Richard de Redvers* and settled at Nunwell, near Brading, which they have held in uninterrupted descent to the present day. On two visits paid to the island by Charles I., first as Prince in 1618, and afterwards as King to inspect the Scotch troops on their way to the Isle of Rhé, he was received by Sir John. This transient intercourse led to momentous results. His personal knowledge of Oglander, together with his reputation for loyalty, and an exaggerated confidence in his influence in the island, weighed much with Charles I. in choosing the Isle of Wight as a refuge after his escape from Hampton Court, and he was the last subject whom the unhappy monarch, still enjoying the semblance of freedom, honoured with a visit, Thursday, November 19, 1647. Oglander's loyalty cost him dear. He was torn from his beloved island by the Committee of Parliament, kept a prisoner in London for many years, and was eventually obliged to pay a large sum of money to obtain his discharge.

In the 'Memoirs' to which we have referred the worthy knight never wearies of descanting on the happy condition of the island in his youth, before 'peace and law had beggared them all;' when the hateful race of attorneys 'that of late hath made this their habitation and so by sutes undone the country,' was unknown; when 'money was as plenty in yeomen's purses as now in the best of the gentry,' who, 'full of money and out of debt,' dreamed away a calm and incurious existence,

'The world forgetting, by the world forgot;'

seldom or never going out of the island, 'making their wills when they went to London, thinking it like an East India

* The cradle of this family was the Castle of Orglandes, in the parish of Valognes, in the Department of La Manche. The Marquis of Orglandes, the chief of the French branch, was Member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1825. Peter de Oglander, chaplain to Richard de Redvers, became Dean of Christchurch Tynham, converted by his lord from a college of secular canons into an Augustinian priory. While we write we notice with regret the death without issue of the last Oglander of Nunwell.

voyage, supposing no trouble like to travaile,' content to entrust their letters, when they had any, to a coneyman who came from London to buy rabbits.* He draws a pleasing picture of the accomplished Lord Southampton, so reasonably identified with 'the onlie begetter' of Shakspeare's Sonnets, when Governor, gathering the island gentry about him at his Manor House of Standen, and spreading around him the refining influence of his high character. Then, he wails, 'this island, full of knights and gentry beyond compare, was the Paradise of England, and now' (A.D. 1647, the period of Charles' incarceration) 'it is just like the other parts of the kingdom; a melancholy, deserted, sad place—no company, no resort, no neighbourly doings one of another. You may truly say *tempora mutantur*.'

We have now arrived at the period when the Isle of Wight assumes its chief interest in the popular mind in connection with the flight and imprisonment of Charles I. But the story is too familiar to justify repetition, and if told in any detail it would carry us far beyond our prescribed limits. The events of the next twelve months are a familiar portion of English history. The unfortunate monarch's gradually restricted liberty; the growing disrespect and inattention to his personal comfort; the hateful bigotry which refused him the ministrations of his own chaplains and forced on him the services of bitter polemics; the abortive schemes of deliverance, and attempts at escape; his daily life in what Andrew Marvel styles 'Carisbrooke's narrow case;' the literary pursuits with which he occupied the weary hours of confinement; the mimic court held by the 'grey dis-crowned monarch' at the Grammar-school House at Newport during the discussion of the proposed treaty; his rude seizure by Major Ralph in the name of the army; his hurried night-journey across the island to Worsley's Tower, and thence to the gloomy fortress of Hurst, December 1st, 1648,—all have been often narrated, but never with such fulness of detail as by the late Mr. George Hillier in his interesting little work, 'Charles the First in the Isle of Wight.'

It is not our purpose to narrate the captivity of the Princess Elizabeth and her brother, the promising young Prince Henry, who, with brutal disregard to their feelings, were removed by

* Hares were not introduced into the island till the sixteenth century, when Sir Edward Horsey, the governor, promised the gift of a lamb in exchange for every live hare. Foxes are a far more recent introduction, dating from the present century, when the animal, previously unknown, was brought in by 'a person more fanciful than kind to his country,' as Bishop Wilson says of the introducer of magpies into the Isle of Man, for the sake of hunting. It was a strange old boast of the Isle of Wight that 'there was neither fox, lawyer, nor friar in it.'

order of Parliament to a place full to them of melancholy memories. Within a month, Elizabeth, constitutionally a sickly child, deformed in person, and crushed by a premature load of agony too great for her susceptible nature, had rejoined her beloved father. Her body lay in state for sixteen days, and was honourably interred in Newport Church in a manner befitting her royal parentage, the mayor and aldermen attending in their robes and insignia of office. An exquisitely beautiful recumbent statue of the Princess, by Baron Marochetti, was erected by Queen Victoria in 1856 'as a token of respect for her virtues and of sympathy for her misfortunes.' Her little brother, the Duke of Gloucester, remained two years longer in the castle—which must have been a dreary abode to him, deprived of the company of his 'sweet sister Patience'—until he received Cromwell's permission to leave England, March 1653.

With these events the history of the Isle of Wight virtually closes. Charles II. paid it more than one visit (once against his will, being forced to land at Puckaster by a violent gale); and honoured Yarmouth with his presence, as the guest, at his newly-erected red brick mansion (now the Bugle Inn), of Sir Robert Holmes, an Irish soldier of fortune, who, after some years of service under foreign Powers, exchanged the land for the sea, and became a naval commander of more celebrity than honourable fame; and who, for his questionable achievements, hardly to be distinguished from piracy, had been rewarded by his not over-scrupulous royal master with the governorship of the island. At the time of the Revolution of 1688, great fears of a landing of the Dutch fleet were entertained, and hasty orders were issued to maintain a strict watch and secure the defences of the island. But the island annals present nothing of any public interest until our own times, when we have seen it selected by our Queen for her marine residence;* and have watched the creation at Osborne of a true English home of culture and refinement, the centre of the purest domestic affections. In other generations it will be regarded as, perhaps the chief glory of this island, that it was the loved home of the Prince Consort, and

* The old name of Osborne, according to Worsley, was Austerborne. It anciently belonged to the old island family of Bowerman, whence it passed by marriage to the family of Arney, and by purchase in 1549 to the Lovibonds, and from them to the Manns. Sir J. Oglander writes, 'Osborne was built by Thomas Lyvibone, and sold by his sonne to Captain Mann, and hath been the ruin of the family. Some buyldes and some destroyeth.' The heiress of the Manns married a Blachford, of Fordingbridge. The mansion at first occupied by her Majesty, but since entirely pulled down, was erected by R. Pope Blachford, Esq., towards the close of the last century. The estate was purchased by the Queen of Lady Isabella Blachford.

of the purest and most devoted to duty of all British sovereigns—unsurpassed as Wife, Mother, and Queen.

The Parliamentary history of the Isle of Wight opens a curious page in our representative annals. Up to the passing of the Reform Bill it contributed no fewer than six members to the House of Commons—half the number returned by the whole of Yorkshire, as many as Middlesex including London—two for each of the boroughs of Newport, Newtown, and Yarmouth. The whole number of nominal electors fell short of a hundred, the seats being really at the disposal of one or two of the leading families of the island. When in 1295 Edward I. convened the Parliament which is considered by Hume* ‘the real and true epoch of the House of Commons,’ Yarmouth and Newport each sent a burgess.† But the right slept for three centuries, none being returned till 1585. At this time Elizabeth, who felt all a Tudor’s hatred of Parliamentary interference, had adopted the policy of her brother and sister, and made a large increase to the numbers of the House of Commons. The insignificance of Yarmouth and Newtown afford a proof of the truth of Hallam’s statement‡ that ‘a very large proportion’ of these new accessions were ‘petty boroughs evidently under the influence of the Crown or peerage.’ Anything like an independent exercise of the franchise was unknown from the very first. The right of appointing one of their members was at once made over by the burgesses of Newport to the energetic ‘Captain of the Isle,’ Sir George Carey, as a token of gratitude for the restoration of their privileges. At Yarmouth both the representatives were named by him. A letter of his to the Corporation, September 10th, 1601, is printed by Albin,§ desiring that they should ‘assemble themselves together, and with their united consent send up unto him (as they heretofore had done) their Writt with a Blank, wherein he might inscribe the names of such persons as he shall think the fittest to discharge that Deutie on their Behoofe.’

Carey’s successor in the Governorship, Henry Wriothesley, Lord Southampton, took good care to maintain the prerogatives of his office. We have some interesting autograph letters lying before us which throw a curious light on the history of elections at this period. One directed to the burgesses of Yarmouth, expresses the surprise and indignation of his Lordship at their having ventured to promise a vacant seat without consulting his wishes, and ‘by waie of prevention and cuninge prouided rather to make excuse than to satisfy his reasonable requeste.’ ‘Your

* ‘Hist. of England,’ vol. ii. p. 281, c. xiii.

† ‘Rolls of Parliament.’

‡ Hallam, ‘Constit. Hist.,’ i. 264-5.

§ Albin, ‘History of the Isle of Wight,’ p. 354.

forehand promise,' writes the indignant Earl, 'I shall find meanes to preuent, and shall have occasion to note your little loue and respecte to me, your countryman and frend.' Such a menace was not without its effect. At the next election Lord Southampton's son, Thomas Wriothesley,* made application to his 'very louing frendes' for one of the seats, stating that, though his Lordship declined to dispose of more than one of the burgess-ships, yet he would 'take it as a great respect done unto him' if the town would 'willingly doe him the favour' to name his son for the second. As a matter of course the Governor's son was returned, and sat for the borough until his father's death removed him to the Upper House.

The plea that has been not unjustly urged for these 'pocket boroughs' that, however contrary to the theory of popular representation, they proved sometimes practically beneficial in opening the door to rising young statesmen who might otherwise have found it difficult to obtain admission to the House of Commons, was exemplified in the Isle of Wight. It was thus that Canning was first brought into Parliament by Pitt in 1793, as member for Newtown. And the Duke of Wellington, then 'General Sir Arthur Wellesley,' entered the English House of Commons in 1808 as the representative of Newport, his colleague being 'Henry, Lord Palmerston.' Other names of note illustrate the election rolls of the Isle of Wight boroughs. The noble and pure-hearted Falkland sat for Newport, and Philip, Lord Lisle, the gallant brother of Algernon Sidney, for Yarmouth, in the Long Parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, when plain John Churchill, and the quondam tailor's boy of Niton—brave old Sir Thomas Hopson, the hero of Vigo Bay—appear among the representatives of Newtown.

The ceremony of election in the Isle of Wight boroughs was a very simple and agreeable one. Of course a dinner constituted its main feature. At such periods the dilapidated Court-house at Newtown—the proceedings at Yarmouth were substantially the same—was the scene of unwonted festivity. At twelve o'clock the burgesses assembled for an oyster luncheon, for which the lessee of the river was bound to find the materials. Before this repast was well digested, at about 3 P.M. the company sat down to a plentiful cold dinner, at the close of which the chairman drew from his pocket a card bearing the names of the two new members. These he read aloud, and at once proposed their

* Wriothesley's signature to this letter, 'Thomas Risley,' deserves notice as a curious example of phonetic spelling, and a proof of the lax unsettled orthography of surnames in the sixteenth century.

health as their new representatives; a toast which was usually drunk 'with the utmost enthusiasm.'

We have already spoken of the first introduction of Christianity into the island by Wilfrid. The Norman Conquest found the island divided into parishes, and churches built; and the new settlers, friends of civilization and the Church, erected others.

The ancient island parishes, though now mostly subdivided, seem for the most part to have been laid out, like the rapes of Sussex, by drawing a straight line, or stretching a rope, from sea to sea. They formed long narrow strips, with the church and village in the centre. The parish of Newchurch, divided across its middle by the steep chalk backbone of the island, including the populous towns of Ryde at one extremity and Ventnor at the other, survived in unbroken unity to our own day, and has only recently assumed a more manageable form.

Nonconformity found here a congenial home. Foreign Protestants made it their resort, and seafaring men of all nations passed there, which, says Neale,* 'occasioned the ceremonies not to be so strictly observed as in other places, their trade and commerce requiring a latitude.' This looseness of observance was very offensive to the strict disciplinarianism of Archbishop Parker: 'a Parker, indeed,' in Fuller's words, 'careful to keep the fence and shut the gates of discipline against all such night stealers as would invade the same;' and one of the last public acts in which he was employed (1575) was a visitation of the Isle of Wight, which he carried out with such extreme severity, ejecting the ministers who refused conformity and closing their churches, that the inhabitants made complaint to his bitter enemy the Earl of Leicester, who had established himself the champion of the Puritans. His representations had so much influence over Elizabeth's vain and capricious mind—irritated by a sense of the disapprobation of her infatuated conduct towards her favourite, which the Archbishop had been unable entirely to conceal—that she issued immediate order for the reversal of Parker's injunctions, and when he next appeared at Court by royal command, behaved to him with such outrageous rudeness, that the aged prelate left the Court stung to the quick, with a resolve that he would never visit it again.

The churches of the Isle of Wight, though often eminently picturesque, both in position and outline, are not remarkable for architectural beauty. In fact it was too remote to be reached by more than the fringe of the wave of architectural progress; while

* 'Puritans,' vol. i. p. 225.

a constant dread of the hostile descents of the French and their frequent ravages kept the inhabitants in too depressed a condition to have either the means or the heart for the erection of costly buildings. They are usually long, low buildings, without clerestory, and very often without chancel-arch, frequently consisting of two equal aisles or bodies, with no constructional mark to distinguish them, or to define the site of the parochial altar. The best example of this arrangement is the Church of Godshill, one of the largest and finest in the Island. The towers are mostly low and square; but that of Carisbrooke is a good work of the Perpendicular period, recalling in its outline the plainer Somersetshire examples. *The same model has been followed at Godshill, Chale, and Gatcombe; but, picturesque as they are, even these cannot be called good works of art. Fragments of Norman work linger here and there. The best example is the tiny church of Yaverland—the loved of landscape painters, as it groups with the gables of the Jacobean manor-house beneath its shadowing elms—where the south door and chancel-arch are good specimens of the barbaric richness of the style. Wootton, Northwood, and Shalfleet, also have Norman doors, and the last-named church the huge stump of an ill-used Norman tower. The best architectural works in the island, at Calbourne, Shalfleet, and Arreton, belong to the Early English period. The later styles present nothing which needs comment, though there is hardly one of the island churches which is not worth turning aside to see. Most of them are charmingly placed, very frequently, as at Godshill, Newchurch, and Motteston, crowning an almost precipitous eminence, and are picturesque with the picturesqueness of a building which has grown into its present form by gradual additions, fused by time into one harmonious whole. The church of St. Lawrence, in the Undercliff, has a wide celebrity, from its diminutive size. Its claim, however, to be the smallest church in England was, even before the enlargement, contested by some of the churches of the Lake District, and cannot now, small as it is, be sustained.*

The churchyard of Brading furnishes one of the most beautiful pieces of memorial poetry in the language, rendered familiar by Dr. Callcott's musical setting, commencing—

‘Forgive, blest shade, the tributary tear.’

It is to the memory of a Mrs. Berry, and is ascribed to the Rev. John Gill, some time curate of Newchurch. In the

* Before its enlargement, the dimensions of St. Lawrence Church were 20 feet long by 12 feet broad, and 6 feet high to the eaves.

churchyard of Carisbrooke may still be read a yet more famous epitaph, which thirty years ago gave rise to the case of *'Breeks v. Woolfrey,'** in the Court of Arches, and procured the decision, by the highest Ecclesiastical Court, that prayers for the dead are not expressly prohibited by the authoritative documents of the Church of England.

From the churches the transition is natural to the clergy who served them : and here, though we find some names of note, and a few which the English Churchman will ever regard with reverence and love, the list is but meagre. Brighston Rectory is honourably distinguished as having given to the English Church three prelates who will not easily be forgotten—the saintly Ken, whose favourite walk is still pointed out in the lovely parsonage garden ; that highly-gifted prelate, from the shock of whose death, felt almost as a personal sorrow in every part of the country, England is hardly yet recovering, beyond dispute the greatest Bishop the English Church has seen for a century and a half—the late Bishop of Winchester ; and the present Bishop of Salisbury. Brighston, also, during his son's residence here as rector, was a favourite home of the eloquent and philanthropic Wilberforce in that 'calm old age on which he entered with the elasticity of youth and the simplicity of childhood, climbing with delight to the top of the chalk downs, or walking long on the unfrequented shore.'† Brading, of which he was curate, and Arreton are inseparably connected with Legh Richmond's popular narratives—'The Young Cottager' and 'The Dairyman's Daughter.' The large-hearted Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hook, who, as Vicar of Leeds, first taught the Church of England how to deal effectively with the huge populations massed together in our great manufacturing towns, commenced his clerical life as curate of Whippingham, of which his uncle, Dean Hook of Worcester, was rector. In the old churchyard of Bonchurch, studded with purple violets, beneath a monument realizing his own 'Shadow of the Cross,' within sight of the rock-strewn slope of Eastend, the scene of the 'Old Man's Home,' reposes William Adams, who, though not strictly belonging to their body, may be permitted to rank among the clergy of the island, which will

* The epitaph in question ran as follows: 'Spes mea Christus. Pray for the soul of J. Woolfrey. "It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead." 2 Mac. xii. 46. J. W. obiit 5 Jan. 1838. Æt. 50.' The judgment was delivered by the late Sir Herbert Jenner. The inscription on Bishop Barrow's monument near the entrance of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, 'O vos transeuntes in domum Domini in domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini,' is a familiar example of the same primitive practice.

† 'Life' by his sons.

always be affectionately associated with his name. By his side lies the brilliant but unhappy John Sterling, better known for his biographers Julius Hare and Thomas Carlyle, than for anything he himself achieved, who died at Ventnor in 1844, asking almost with the last breath for the old Bible he so often used in the cottages at his Hurstmonceaux Curacy. To go back a few years we must not forget that Wood, the mathematician, who, coming up to college so poor that the story goes he was fain to work his problems by the light of the stair-lamp, achieved the high positions of Master of St. John's and Dean of Ely, died Rector of Freshwater, as was also the father of Dr. Robert Hooke, the able, but whimsical and penurious Gresham Professor of whom old Aubrey has so many amusing tales to tell. A cousin of Izaak Walton became Rector of Wootton in 1767. He was a man of kindred spirit with his celebrated namesake, and his memory is still cherished as of one of considerable theological attainments, polished manners, and a kind humble heart; manifesting primitive piety, and a heavenly mind;* passing his time among his books, in cultivating choice flowers, and in friendly intercourse with his parishioners and near neighbours. Carisbrooke reckons among its vicars Alexander Ross, a Scotch schoolmaster, chaplain to Charles I., † one of those laborious writers who compile huge tomes *de omni scibili*, unrelieved by a single scintillation of genius and only rescued from oblivion by his name forming a tag to one of Butler's triple rhymes:—

‘There was an ancient sage philosopher,
Who had read Alexander Ross over.’—*Hudibras*.

* His father was chaplain to Bishop Morley, of Winchester, by whom he was appointed Rector of Brighthelmston. When the son became Rector of Wootton, the family came over to inspect the church and rectory. The roads being quite impassable for a carriage, the waggon employed on the glebe farm was put in requisition for the transit, the old rector sitting in his arm-chair, the ladies reclining, like Jane Austen's mother on her journey to her new home, on beds and sacks; the young rector riding on horseback. At this period early service at 4 A.M. during the harvest month was attended by the farmers and their labourers. The Waltons, in common with the clergy generally of their day, farmed their own glebe, the unmarried farm-servants living in the parsonage with the household. A gay posy was *en règle* for the Sunday costume of the parson, which when service began was laid on the reading desk.

† It is a common calumny, reported again and again till it has gained currency and belief, that the living of Carisbrooke, together with those of Niton, Whitwell, Godshill, and others, was extorted from Charles I. by the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, as the price of the gift of their college plate in his necessities. Dates disprove the whole story. These advowsons were given to the college by the King on the intercession of Henrietta Maria, who, as Queen Consort, was official patroness of the college, Nov. 8, 1636. The so-called ‘loan’ of the plate took place six years afterwards, Jan. 5, 1642.

His.

His chief literary achievement was the continuation of Raleigh's 'History of the World,' Mezentius-like attaching a lifeless corpse to a living body.* Calbourne was the benefice with which, just before his death, Edward VI. rewarded Nicholas Udall, the Eton Master—the 'plagosus Orbilius' of poor Thomas Tusser †—for his share in the translation of the 'Paraphrases' of Erasmus, which had not undeservedly gained him ‡ a stall at Windsor the year before. May we hope Udall proved more merciful to the Isle of Wight parishioners than to his Eton scholars.

The Isle of Wight has not been fertile in native celebrities. Cole, the Provost of Eton and Dean of St. Paul's, the 'Vicar of Bray' of his day, 'changing his faith with every change of those in authority, the preacher of the sermon when Cranmer was burnt, was a native of Godshill. The two Jameses, uncle and nephew, once well-known as scholars, controversial divines, bibliophilists, and antiquarians, were born at Newport. The elder, Dr. Thomas James, assisted Sir Thomas Bodley materially in the formation of the library at Oxford that immortalizes his name, of which he was the first keeper, and, in 1605, drew up the first catalogue.§ His nephew Robert did like service to Selden in illustrating the Arundel Marbles, and to Sir Robert Cotton in the arrangement of his famous MS. library. Newport at the same time furnished Elizabeth with three of her most trusted servants—'one,' as she used to say, 'for her soul, one for her body, and one for her goods,' all sons of tradesmen—Dr. Edes, Dean of Worcester, her Chaplain; Dr. James, her Physician in Ordinary; and Sir Thomas Fleming, her Solicitor. They owed their promotion to the influence of Ursula, Lady Walsingham, the widow of Richard Worsley. Sir Thomas Fleming, whose base sycophancy, and the readiness with which

* Ross was also the author of *Πανσέβεια*, 'A View of all Religions,' 'Virgilius Evangelizans,' and a host more of long since forgotten works.

†
 'From Paules I went, to Eaton sent,
 To learne streight waies, the Latin phraies,
 When fiftie three stripes given to me
 At once I had.
 For fault but small or none at all
 It came to pass thus beat I was.
 See Udall see the mercie of thee
 To mee poore lad !'

—*Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandrie.*

‡ 'The "Paraphrase" and Notes of Erasmus, in my judgment, was the most important book even of his day. We must remember that it was almost legally adopted by the Church of England.'—Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' vol. vi. p. 624.

§ Camden, speaking of him in his lifetime, calls him 'a learned man and true lover of books wholly dedicated to learning; who is now laboriously searching the libraries of England, and proposeth that for the public good which will be for the great benefit of England.'

he lent himself as a tool of the Crown in its illegal exactions, raised him to the high place of Lord Chief Justice of England, was the son of a mercer. Fleming is chiefly, and that infamously, notorious for his judgment in the great case of Impositions, fully as important in the opinion of the late Lord Campbell as 'Hampden's case of Ship-money, though not so celebrated, from having been long acquiesced in to the destruction of public liberty,' by which it was laid down that the king might impose whatever duties he pleased on imports. James I., on hearing of this judgment, declared that he was 'a judge to his heart's content.' *

The most truly great name in the annals of the Isle of Wight is that of the regenerator of public-school education in England, who first taught schoolmasters to look upon their pupils as moral and spiritual beings with characters to be moulded and souls to be trained, Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, who was born, June 13th, 1795, at Slatwoods in East Cowes, where his father was Collector of Customs. Dean Stanley records in his biography that shoots of a great willow-tree, still remaining here, were transplanted by Arnold to his successive homes at Laleham, Rugby, and Fox How.† The Isle of Wight has also given to England one of the chief female educators of our day, Miss Elizabeth Sewell, whose writings have exercised so beneficial an influence over the minds and hearts of the young, not here only, but in America and wherever the English language is known.

Although the island cannot claim him as a native, it has been so long the chosen home of the Laureate, that it will ever be inseparably connected with the name of Tennyson. Farringford, 'where,' to quote his own words,

'Far from noise and smoke of town,
I watch the twilight falling brown,
All round a careless ordered garden,
Close to the ridge of a noble down ;'

and

'Groves of pine on either hand,
To break the blasts of winter, stand ;
And further, on the hoary channel,
Tumbles a breaker on chalk and sand ;'—

* Fleming purchased the monastic properties of Carisbrooke and Quarr on easy terms. Sir J. Oglander records with one of his characteristic groans :—'Sir H. Fleming bought Quarr for nothing. So you may see that great abbey of Quarr, founded by Baldwin Ryvers, is come now to the posterities of a merchant of Newporte. O tempora ! O mores !'

† 'Slatwoods,' writes Dr. Arnold to his sister, Mrs. Buckland, 'was deeply interesting. I thought of what Fox How might be to my children forty years hence. But Fox How cannot be to them what Slatwoods is to me—the only home of my childhood.'—Arnold's 'Life and Correspondence,' vol. ii. p. 46.

nestles among its noble trees—not pines only—in a daffodil bestrewn park, beneath the shelter of the huge chalk down that towers between it and Freshwater Bay. The whole south-eastern coast of the island lies here stretched out to the eye, with its wide sweeping bays and projecting headlands, ending in the grand embattled face of St. Catherine's Down crowned by its little mediæval lighthouse.

'The only independent monastic foundation in the Isle of Wight was that erected at Quarr by Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon and Exeter, the second Lord of Wight of that stock, in 1132, among the oak coppices that fringe the undulating shores of the Solent to the north-west of Ryde. The site of the new abbey derived its name from the quarries of freshwater limestone, the excellence of which as a building stone had been discovered in very early times, and which, by the Conqueror's grant, confirmed by the Red King (with an amusing stipulation telling of the Norman love of the chase, limiting digging for stones to spots, where the thicket was low enough for the horns of a passing stag to be seen), had furnished materials to Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, for the erection of his cathedral, and subsequently to Stigand when he transferred his see from Selsea to Chichester. Quarr was a Cistercian abbey, 'the daughter of Savigny,' and one of the earliest of that name in England.

The church of Quarr was the burial-place of its founder and the various members of the family. Hither, too, when her strangely chequered life ended, were brought the remains of the Princess Cecily, the third daughter of Edward IV.—'a lady not so fortunate as fair,' writes Hall—from her manor-house of East Standen on St. George's Down, where, after the death of her first husband, Lord Wells, and the failure of the attempts to wed her to the heir of the Scottish Crown, she lived 'not in great wealth' with her second husband, Sir John Kyme of the Lincolnshire family of that name, whom, says Fuller, she married 'rather for comfort than credit.' But neither noble nor royal memories availed to save the abbey from destruction. The work of demolition begun by its first purchaser, one Mills, a tradesman of Southampton, was carried on by Sir Thomas Fleming, and has been completed almost in our own day. The fragments of the buildings now remaining are too scanty and too much mutilated to afford any sufficient clue to the style or arrangements of the fabric.

A few cells of the great Norman abbeys—Alien Priories, as they came to be called when Normans and Englishmen were no longer subjects of the same ruler—were dotted over the island. Diminutive little establishments these, supporting a prior and
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one or two monks, who tilled the lands and transmitted the profits of their farming to their Lord Abbot beyond seas. Carisbrooke was the chief of these miniature foundations, assigned by Fitz Osbern to his Abbey of Lire. Appuldurcombe, founded by Isabella de Fortibus as a cell of Montebourg, passed by marriage with Anne Leigh the heiress of the lessee, herself once attached to the Court as lady-in-waiting,* to Henry VIII.'s boyish friend, page to his brother Prince Arthur, James Worsley. Sir James's son Richard erected a large gabled house on the site of the priory, at which, in 1538, he received his father's friend, Henry VIII., accompanied by Lord Cromwell. This house was replaced by the present stately Corinthian mansion, standing in the midst of a park laid out by 'Capability Brown,' in the early part of the last century, which, after becoming the shrine of the collection of pictures, statues, and antiquities forming the celebrated 'Museum Worsleianum' gathered by Sir Richard during his voyages in the Mediterranean and the Levant, has passed into other hands and only escaped demolition by being converted into a college.

Carisbrooke Castle was from the earliest times the stronghold of Wight. Very few of the military ruins of England surpass it in picturesque beauty and architectural interest. Its situation is striking, crowning a round-headed outlier of chalk, looking out over the broad, well-watered valley of Buccombe (Beaucombe). The shattered walls of the keep, perfect in their circumference, rise to a still greater elevation, being constructed on one of those huge conical mounds, dating from primæval times, which formed the 'arx' or 'acropolis' of our ancient fortresses; the *burgh* of the earliest settlers. The finest feature of the exterior is the noble entrance gateway, erected by Edward IV.'s brother-in-law, Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, and bearing his arms on its face. The Governor's Lodgings—the residence of Charles I. during the early months of his captivity, and the scene of his first abortive attempt at escape, and in which his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, died—preserve, amid later additions and tasteless* alterations, the shell of the Hall of Baldwin de Redvers, and the little chapel of Isabella de Fortibus, converted by Lord Cutts into a grand staircase. The Elizabethan apartments to the left of the entrance, to which Charles was removed for greater security, have fallen into complete ruin. The window usually shown as that by which the King attempted

* Lady Anne Worsley was one of the last pilgrims to the shrine of St. Iago at Compostella, once so fashionable a resort for English ladies. She carried with her a large train of female companions, old and young, some of whom Sir J. Oglander had seen and conversed with.

to escape, owes its celebrity to the invention of local guides. But it is much more picturesque than the true one, and answers the purpose of visitors and showmen just as well. Baldwin de Redver's famous well, with its donkey working, turnspit-like, in a large wooden wheel, is too characteristic a feature of Carisbrooke Castle, and too universally famous, to be altogether passed over.* The tilt-yard where Charles, and afterwards his children, whiled away their weary hours at bowls, and the stone-faced outworks, constructed on the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, by Giambelli,† 'a subtle Mantuan,' the author of the successful plan for destroying Parma's bridge at Antwerp with fireships, are rich in historical memories.

Few objects are more pleasing to the eye, as one wanders through the Isle of Wight, than the noble old greystone gabled manor-houses, now almost without exception degraded to the rank of farm-houses. One of the most picturesque of these, both in outline and position, is that of Motteston. This was the abode of the ancient family of Cheke, from which sprang Sir John Cheke, immortalized by Milton as the tutor of Edward VI.,‡ and the reviver of Greek learning at the University of Cambridge. Sir John's sister, Mary Cheke, became the wife of his pupil, Cecil Lord Burghley.

A little beyond Motteston, to the west, is the manor-house of Brook, preserving some traces of its antiquity amidst the splendid additions made to it by its present owner, who here received the liberator of Italy—Garibaldi—on his visit to England in 1864. In 1499 its then owner, Dame Joanna Bowerman, entertained Henry VII., who was so much pleased with his entertainment that he presented his hostess with his drinking horn, and made her a grant of a fat buck from his forest of Parkhurst yearly.

Old beliefs and superstitions, though fast passing away, still linger on among the country folks. Older people have well-accredited stories of fairies to tell, though the jealous little people are no longer to be seen in their former haunts, having fled before the intrusion of strangers. The Isle of Wight fairies, unlike their kinsfolk in the New Forest, were all beneficent. Instead of mis-

* Our readers will remember how the brothers Smith, when describing Yamen's fall, borrow a simile from this celebrated well :—

‘And his head, as he tumbled, went nickety-nock,
Like a pebble in Carisbrooke well.’—*Rejected Addresses*.

† Motley's ‘History of the United Netherlands,’ vol. i. p. 190 ; vol. ii. p. 486.

‡ ‘Thou soul of Sir John Cheke,
Who taughtest Cambridge and King Edward Greek.’

—*Milton, Sonnet xi.*

Edward VI., according to Fuller, used to say of his tutors: ‘Randolph, the German, spoke honestly ; Sir John Cheke talked merrily ; Dr. Coxe solidly ; and Sir Anthony Cooke weighingly.’

leading travellers, drawing them into bogs and quagmires and making themselves merry over their mishaps, the 'little ladies' were wont to show benighted wanderers on the Downs the right way home, open gates for them, and perform other kindly services. They were often seen in their bright-coloured glistening attire, dancing on the smooth turf of the hill-side, or among the ruins of Quarr, one of their most favourite haunts, to music of the most entrancing sweetness. They were not an idle people, but with their own hands hollowed out their subterranean halls—one such used to be pointed out in a high bank overshadowed with ancient thorns, on the side of Arreton Down—by the aid of tiny spades and shovels. If any of these miniature tools were broken they were left outside to be mended by the farm-servant, who never failed to find on the spot next morning a heap of delicious little cakes made by fairy-hands, as payment for his service. Sometimes when they had any larger work of excavation on hand they would borrow the farmers' tools, never omitting to pay the hire of them in elfin confectionery. The New Forest fairy, Lawrence, who is still believed to hold lazy folks by his benumbing spell, does not seem to have crossed the water. Instead of the Hampshire proverb 'Lawrence has got him,' the local saying in the Isle of Wight with regard to any one suffering from a fit of idleness is, 'He has got the Isle of Wight fever.' Laziness is thus regarded as the physical result of the enervating climate, and the natural takes the place of the supernatural.

Of course every ancient manor-house had its ghost. The most terrible was that of the suicide, Sir Tristram Dillington, at Knighton. His shadowy form has been seen by persons yet alive wandering over the deserted terraced gardens of his demolished mansion, holding his head in his hand. The spirit of a new-born child, its long white clothes swaying in the night-wind, has scared many a belated pedestrian at the stile leading into Marvell Copse. Another ghost was in the habit of presenting itself at house-doors as a mendicant soliciting alms, revealing himself in paralysing power to those who sent him away unrelieved. Many a sturdy tramp has secured immediate and liberal attention to his demands by the fear that if refused he would assume a ghostly form of terror, and so stiffen the joints of the hard-hearted one that they could never be bent again. Portraits often stepped out of their frames and walked about the house at dead of night. At Wootton Parsonage the ghost of Dr. Thomas Lisle, a former rector, descended from the grand old family of the De Insulas, rustled down the staircase in his sweeping silk gown and cassock at twelve o'clock. The uneasy spirit of the
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‘wicked Queen Elcanor,’ whom tradition connects with the island, used to be seen wandering with wringing hands through the oak wood that bore her name—‘Queen Eleanor’s Grove’—near Quarr. Tales of hidden treasure also still cling to the abbey ruins. It is barely fifty years since search was made for ‘a gold coffin’ believed to be buried there. Gold, indeed, did reward the searchers; but it was only the golden tresses of some long-departed fair one, whose nameless stone coffin was violated, and her remains dispersed.

The name of the village of Godshill preserves the still current tradition that the parish church, one of the first founded in the island, was to have been built in the valley, but that unseen hands—believed to be those of angels—every night undid the work of the previous day, and carried the stones to the summit of the green knoll, where, conspicuous for miles around, the sacred edifice now stands.

Old customs and ceremonies still linger. At Shrovetide parties of boys and girls go about ‘a-shroving,’ that is, begging for something to eat and drink, or some small dole in money at the various houses they visit, chanting the rude refrain;—

‘I be come a-shroving, a-shroving,
A bit of bread or a bit of cheese, or a bit of good fat bacon;
A pancake or a truffle cheese, or a bit of your own baking;
I’d rather have than not at all, a bit of your own baking,’ &c.

If the house-door remains shut to their request, they leave it with a volley of stones and clods.

At Yarmouth, on New Year’s Day, the children used to parade the town singing a snatch of old world verse, so pretty as to be worth preserving:—

‘Wassail, wassail to your town,
The cup is white, and the ale is brown;
The cup is made of the ashen tree,
And so is the ale of good barley.
Little maid, little maid, turn the pin,
Open the door and let me in;
God be here, and God be there,
We wish you all a happy new year.’

Old women go about a-gooding on St. Thomas’s Day, and at Christmas ‘the Mummers’ present themselves at the door, decked out with tawdry finery and tinsel. The rude drama they act is, in the main, the same found in most parts of England, grossly interpolated with modern allusions, representing a fight between St. George and the Moslem.

Some of the old customs at funerals were long preserved here, and perhaps have not yet died out. Sprigs of rosemary, as at
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the funeral in Hogarth's 'Harlot's Progress,' were handed round to the mourners before the corpse left the dwelling. Each carried one, and at the conclusion of the service dropped them on the coffin in the grave. Cakes flavoured with spice and rosemary were handed round with the sprigs, and the day succeeding the funeral half-a-dozen wrapped in white linen were left at the clergyman's house. Weddings were frequently celebrated on Sunday mornings before service. When the ceremony was over, the happy pair separated, and the division of the sexes in church being still maintained, the bride quietly stepped across to her usual seat on the women's side, the bridegroom taking his own among the men. We question whether after so engrossing a ceremony the newly-married pair could have given much account of the sermon.

In consequence of the badness of the roads, wheel-carriages formerly scarcely existed in the island. Everybody who travelled at all travelled on horseback; 'Madam,' the rector's wife, sitting behind the well-bewigged divine on the pillion, with as much composure as 'Gammer' from the farm with her basket of butter and eggs. A single one-horse chaise at Newport was, a century since, the only vehicle for hire in the whole island. The driver walked at his horse's head, leading his animal by a leather-strap. When any of the Newport tradesmen's wives had occasion to make use of this vehicle, it was always—so true to nature is Cowper's Mrs. Gilpin—to avoid observation and ill-natured comment, driven a little way out of the town for the parties to get in. When, in 1758,* an enterprising landlord of the 'Bugle' set up a post-chaise, the wise men of the town shook their heads at so great an extravagance, portending his speedy ruin.

And now to turn to the provincialisms of the island. A number of fine old words, familiar to us in Shakespeare and other earlier poets, survive in the common speech of the people, though, alas! not so frequent as they once were. The boys still 'miche' (play truant), and set up 'gally-crows' in the field to 'gally' (scare away) the birds, and talk of the jay and magpie as 'prankit' (variegated). The labourer takes his 'dew-bit' (the first light breakfast), puts on his 'stroggs' (leggings), and repairs to the 'barton' (strawyard), to look after the 'mud calves' (weaned calves), and after he has 'tighted the heft of his zull' (fastened the handle of his plough), climbs the 'shute' (steep ascent, *chute* Fr.) at the top of the 'butt' (a small enclosed

* 'This was the year in which the first private carriage was set up in Manchester by some specially luxurious individual, none having been previously kept by any person in business there.'—Smiles's 'Engineers,' vol. i. p. 342.

meadow), and having 'lopped' (scrambled) over the fence, begins to grub up the 'mores' (roots) in the 'shamble' (rough neglected ground), between the 'lynch' (a long narrow coppice) and the 'slink' (a slip of a field). When he begins to feel 'lere' (empty), he sits under the 'lewth' (shelter) of the 'rew' (strip of wood) and eats his 'nammet' (noon-meat), while the 'wosbirds' (wasps) are buzzing about him; and his lank 'scaithy' (filching) whelp watches anxiously for his share of the meal. One who is hard of hearing is as 'dunch as a plock' (deaf as a block); cows when dry are 'azew'; a bundle swinging lightly at the end of a stick is said to 'bome'; a small farm is a 'bargain'; the churchyard is almost invariably the 'litten' in the country districts; 'a dúver' is a sandy flat by the sea-side; meat is said to 'plim' when it swells in cooking; a pitcher is a 'pill'; the wick of a candle is 'a windlet'; an apple 'turnover' is a 'stuckling'; sufferers under a shivering fit of the ague, 'jower'; a weakly child is spoken of as 'tew' or 'tewly.'

Some words suffer metathesis in the ordinary Isle of Wight speech. A man speaks of being 'wotshed' instead of wetshod; great becomes 'girt'; pretty, 'pirty'; and the dusk of evening is hardly recognizable under the form 'duks.'

Of the chief centres of population, Newport is the only one which, in spite of its name, can boast of any antiquity. Compared, indeed, with the hoar antiquity of Carisbrooke and Brading, the 'Novus burgus' of Richard de Redvers is a thing of yesterday. But it can claim seven centuries of existence, and may therefore look down with justifiable pride on the modern creations of fashion and pleasure that are rivalling or surpassing it in population. Founded by the first lord of the De Redvers stock in the reign of Henry I., and built, like Exeter, Lewes, and so many of our ancient towns, just where the river ceases to be tidal, Newport, the 'new haven' of the Castle of Carisbrooke, received its first charter from his great grandson and namesake, Richard, and obtained continually increasing privileges from its subsequent lords. It is a neat, quiet, little town, laid out by its founder in four chief streets intersecting in the centre, with back streets running parallel to them behind, affording each 'place,' or building lot, the convenience of a double entrance. Except the Grammar School, with its sad memories of Charles I., and the abortive negotiations between him and his Parliament; and the richly-decorated new church, of which the chief ornament is the chaste recumbent statue of the Princess Elizabeth; and a feeble classical Town-hall, the work of Nash, Newport has no public buildings that deserve a moment's attention. Nor
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are its historical memories such as to compensate for the want of architectural attractiveness. Beyond its cruel devastation by the French late in the fourteenth century, the reminiscences of Charles I., and an attempted rising in his favour by Capt. Burley in 1647, Newport offers nothing worth record.

Ryde, the second town in the island in dignity, the first in population, was in very early times a place of importance as one of the chief points of communication with the mainland. Its name, related to the Celtic Rhyd, a ford, a crossing (an element we find in Augustoritum, Camboritum, &c.), indicates its character. But it was a mere place of passage, with a few fishermen's huts on the beach and a small group of houses on the top of the hill above, and even as late as 1665 its population scarcely exceeded 200.* Within the present century the two villages of Upper and Lower Ryde were still separated by corn-fields; and wheat-crops were reaped where the shops of Union Street display their brilliant and tempting wares. Bitter enmity existed between the neighbours, breaking out as occasion offered into open hostilities, when a party would sally forth from the lower to do battle with sticks and stones with the lads of the upper town, or the upper would send down a detachment to take reprisals on their 'longshore enemies.

We are indebted to the satirical pen of Fielding, who was unwillingly detained here on his voyage to Lisbon, for a picture of Ryde in 1759. Our readers may be glad to be reminded of the life-like pictures drawn by the great novelist of Mrs. Francis, his extortionate and shrewish landlady, and her stolid complaisant husband, who 'wished not for anything, thought not of anything,—indeed, scarce did anything, or said anything,'—replying to all Fielding's remonstrances with, 'I don't know anything about it, Sir; I leaves all that to my wife:' of her tumble-down tenement, the best inn that Ryde then afforded, 'built with the materials of a wreck, sunk down with age on one side, and in the form of a ship with gunwales,'—of her bills, with their daily increasing tariff, 'a pennyworth of fire rated to-day at a shilling, to-morrow at eighteen pence,'—'two dishes dressed for two shillings on Saturday, and half-a-crown charged for the cooking of one on Sunday;'—of her indignant retort to Fielding's remonstrance—'Candles! why, yes, to be sure; why should not travellers pay for candles? I am sure I pay for mine;' and of her closing lamentation at the smallness of her bill, after every charge which a landlady's ingenuity could invent or a landlady's conscience allow had been introduced,—'she didn't

* The population of Ryde at the last Census amounted to 11,234.

know that she had omitted anything, *but it was but a poor bill for gentlefolks to pay.*'

If the members of the Yacht Squadron, whose trim craft give so much life and animation to its waters, and whose annual Regatta collects so much of the wealth and fashion of the land, or the gay crowds who throng the pier in every variety of fashionable costume, were to have a view of Ryde as it appeared to Fielding, they would not easily recognize their favourite resort. The 'impassable gulf of deep mud, which could neither be traversed by walking nor swimming,' no friendly pier yet crossing its treacherous surface, rendered Ryde 'for near one-half of the twenty-four hours inaccessible by friend or foe.' Until the present pier was opened in 1815 the way of approach was that commemorated by Marryat in his 'Poor Jack;' when 'the wherries came in as far as they could, and were met by a horse and cart, which took out the passengers and carried them through the mud and water to the hard ground.' Amusing tales are still told of inconvenient accidents occasioned by jibbing or unruly horses, or the loss of the 'cart-pins,' which involved the precipitation of the whole freight backwards into the ooze and slime.

Cowes, which was an earlier yachting centre, and still claims official precedence of Ryde in this respect, cannot go back, as a town, beyond the latter part of the sixteenth century. The two forts, seen and described by Leland, very soon after their erection by Henry VIII. from the materials of Beaulieu Abbey,—

'The two great Cows that in loud thunder roar,
'This on the eastern, that on the western shore,'

gave the name to the locality, which has been transferred to the little town that gradually, after the erection of a Custom-house for the Island in 1575, clustered round the western Cow or fort. Its convenience as a port and harbour and landing-place was soon recognized, and its growth in prosperity, though not rapid, has been solid and steady. Of late years the residence of Her Majesty and the Royal Family at Osborne has supplied an additional stimulus to the commercial activity of West Cowes, and of her younger sister on the eastern bank. Cowes is a very attractive place when seen from the water. The houses climb up a steep wooded hill rising from the water, crowned by a stately church and a number of handsome villas. But the favourable impression is hardly maintained on landing. Henry VIII.'s block-house has become the Yacht Club-house.

Returning to the eastern side of the island, the decayed corporate town of Brading, with its grey spire-crowned church, its half-timbered

half-timbered houses, crumbling town-hall, bull-ring and stocks, seems to belong to a bygone age. It will always possess an interest from its connection with Wilfrid, the Evangelist of the island; but there is not much to make us linger, and we pass on after casting a glance over the broad tidal-basin, Brading Haven, into which the silver Yar, after forcing its way through the chalk downs, expands before it joins the sea, and reflecting how greatly the prospect would have lost in beauty if Sir Hugh Myddleton's engineering operations for draining the haven, and converting it into corn-fields and pastures, had not been allowed to become abortive through the want of decision and energy on the part of its promoters.

While Brading has been sinking, her daughters of Sandown and Shanklin have been rising, and the once tiny villages—Sandown, indeed, was no more than a cluster of fishermen's cottages with a humble wayside-inn—have assumed the aspect and importance of considerable towns.

The bright, cheerful, little town of Sandown, with its fine expanse of dry level sand, peopled in the summer and autumn months with tribes of happy children who, like those who frolicked on the shores of the Ægean three thousand years ago,

‘In wanton play with hands and feet o’erthrow

The mound of sand which late in play they raised,’—

Iliad, xv. 424, 425.—Lord Derby's Translation.

is inseparably connected with the memory of John Wilkes, of the ‘North Briton,’ who may be said to have discovered the place, and who by the erection of his ‘Villakin’ in 1788, which he never tired of praising and adorning, first showed it to be a possible residence for a gentleman. Wilkes's letters to his daughter are full of amusing descriptions of the place and his neighbours, his difficulty in obtaining provisions, his love for the feathered tribes, the kindness of the gentry of the vicinity in supplying his wants, his visits to them and theirs to him. One Sunday, he tells his ‘dear Polly,’ going over to church at Shanklin, he met Garrick and his charming wife, who took him back with them to Mr. Fitzmaurice's seat at Knighton, at which they were staying. Here he found Sir Richard Worsley and some of his Neapolitan acquaintances. Sir Richard engaged him to visit him at Appuldurcombe on the Monday, where he entertained ‘the whole Knighton set’ at a grand breakfast, ‘Mrs. Garrick, as usual, the most captivating of the whole circle.’ Wilkes numbered the Hills of St. Boniface, the Bassetts, the Oglanders, and all the leading island gentry among his associates; and we gather from this correspondence a very pleasing idea of the genial and refined

refined hospitality which prevailed among them. The fort at Sandown, erected by Henry VIII., once washed away by the sea, and only saved from the same fate a second time by very expensive engineering works, not long since boasting of a well-salaried governor, has been finally pulled down in our own day, and a new fort erected of granite cased with iron, as one member of the formidable and costly line of coast defences, by which it is fondly hoped the Isle of Wight has been rendered impregnable.

Lovely as Shanklin is, and must ever remain with its chine, its cliffs, and its woods, in spite of the worst that enterprising house-builders have done and are doing to vulgarise it, it must not detain us. * We may, however, remark in passing that Shanklin was one of the strongholds of Jacobitism in the Isle of Wight. The old summer-house in the Manor House garden is still pointed out in which meetings of the adherents of the exiled royal family used to be held, and at which, with the old Squire of Shanklin at their head, the island gentlemen would drink the health of Charles Edward on bended knee.* In later years, before it had become so crowded a resort, Shanklin was a very favourite place for Oxford reading parties. Bishops Hampden and Hinds passed the long vacation of 1812 here, 'occupied,' writes the former, 'with our books the greater part of every day, and having no recreation beyond a *tête-à-tête* walk along the sea-shore: never even making an excursion into other parts of the attractive scenery of the island.' They had been preceded by their friend, Archbishop Whately, who read here for his Oriel Fellowship.

We must, however unwillingly, leap over the exquisite scenery between Shanklin and Ventnor: Luccombe with its bowl-shaped chine and rude fishermen's huts, full of charms to the landscape-painter; the romantic ruin of the East-end Landslip, created within living memory by the subsidence of the inferior strata; Bonchurch, the portal of the Undercliff, with its cliff walls and rugged, isolated rocks, and sheltered nooks, and picturesque residences, 'in the very style a poet would have

* A century ago, in the days of the old squires, Shanklin is described as a Utopia of friendship and mutual good will. 'The inhabitants,' writes Hassell, 'are like one large family. Ill nature is not known among them. Obliging in the extreme, they seem to be the happiest when their visitants are best pleased.' Nor was Shanklin peculiar in this respect. The quiet villages of the island, where the gentry had lived for generations in the midst of their humbler friends and dependants, knowing everybody and manifesting a kindly interest in all, formed much such parochial Goshens as the gentle Mary Leadbeater describes Ballitore before the Irish Insurrection, 'When the temporary absence of a neighbour caused a shade of gloom, and his return a ray of sunshine; when the sickness or misfortune of one was felt by sympathy through the whole body.'—*Leadbeater Papers and Correspondence*.

imagined and a painter designed' ;* still, in Dr. Arnold's words, 'the most beautiful place on the sea-coast on this side Genoa' † —and devote a few closing words to Ventnor—the Metropolis of the Undercliff. Forty years since this now large and flourishing town was the tiniest of fishing hamlets. A group of low-thatched cottages on the shore of the Cove, a picturesque mill hanging on the steep cliff above, down which the mill-stream dashed in a pretty cascade ; a low-roofed wayside inn, the thatch of which a tall man could easily reach ; and a humble dwelling or two hard by, formed the whole of Ventnor. And such it might have remained had not the late distinguished physician, Sir James Clark, discovered the curative power of its genial climate in pulmonary disease, and recommended it as a winter resort for invalids. Consumptive patients resorted to Ventnor in crowds. Its praises as the 'English Madeira' were said and sung by grateful visitors, and the place speedily sprang into eminence and celebrity as one of the best of the health-resorts of Southern England. And if the fashion has in some measure turned, and Bournemouth and other younger rivals are rivalling, or even surpassing Ventnor in public estimation, the logic of facts will ever continue to argue very strongly in favour of it as a residence for the invalid who seeks to escape the cold blasts of our northern winter, and the still more perilous alternations of our treacherous spring, without the fatigue of foreign travel, and the numberless miseries inseparable from a winter passed where English comforts are unknown. The Registrar-General's returns prove that Ventnor almost bears the palm of all English health-resorts. Its microscopic mortality, notwithstanding the large number of consumptive patients carried there in the final stages of their insidious disease simply to die, is a triumphant proof of the remarkable salubrity of this favoured locality. While on this subject we must not omit to call attention to the most recent development of sanitary agencies, whose beneficent object is to place the benefits of the genial climate of the Undercliff within the reach of a class which without such help must be permanently shut out from them. We refer to the National Consumption Hospital erected on the cottage or detached block system in one of the most beautiful and sheltered spots in the Undercliff, of which the first stone was laid two years since by the Princess Louise on behalf of her Royal mother, who from the first has manifested a warm interest in its success, and which is entering on a career of extensive usefulness destined long to perpetuate the name of its energetic originator, Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall.

* Sterling.

† 'Arnold's Life and Correspondence,' vol. ii. p. 45.

ART. II.—1. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation.* By Edward Burnet Tylor. London, 1865.

2. *Primitive Culture.* By the Same. London, 1871.

3. *Primitive Society.* By the Same, in the 'Contemporary Review' for April and June 1873.

4. *Prehistoric Times.* By Sir John Lubbock, Bart. 2nd edition. London, 1869.

5. *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man.* By the Same. London, 1870.

THAT the proper study of mankind is Man seems to be a proposition the truth of which is being now forced upon us with peculiar intensity. In spite of the expulsion of the 'microcosm' by astronomy from the centre of the material universe, he is at present acquiring yet fresh claims to be considered the one key whereby may be unlocked the mysteries of the 'macrocosm.' With the dispelling of that dream in which the little planet Tellus appeared the great solid nucleus of encircling crystal spheres existing only for its sake, began the vigorous prosecution of the physical sciences—the investigation of nature *external to man*. This investigation having reached a stage rendering possible the exposition of all non-human phenomena as the multifold co-ordinated and harmonised manifestations of one great process—a *theory of evolution*—it remains to test the universal adequacy of that theory by its application to the phenomena presented to us by Man in his highest existing condition and as the wild tenant of the forest—the *Homo sylvaticus*. If all the phenomena which human life presents are capable of being brought under the laws which regulate inferior organisms, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the amount of support which would thereby be given to the universality of that theory. Moreover, it is plain that in such a case all those who deem the theory of evolution sufficient to account for the origin of all other animals, must logically admit it as sufficient to account for his origin also.

At present there are two very distinct views as to the origin of the animal population of this planet.

I. The first of these views—the monistic hypothesis—asserts that one uniform law has presided over the whole, since all such creatures are distinguished from one another by differences which are differences of degree only, and not of kind.

II. The other of these views—the dualistic hypothesis—asserts that man (whatever may have been the case with brute animals) must have originated in some special manner, since the difference
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between him and brutes is a difference of *kind*, and not one merely of degree—he embodying a distinct principle not present in brute animals.

A supporter of the monistic hypothesis must maintain that man at his first appearance was literally in the lowest and most brutal stage of his existence, whence he has gradually ascended to his present condition by a process of progressive development attended with only exceptional and relatively insignificant processes of retrogression and degradation. He will consequently not only maintain that races have existed without articulate speech, or any equivalent symbolic system, without perceptions of ‘right’ and ‘wrong,’ and without religious conceptions, but also that the first men were actually so destitute. He may or may not expect to find specimens of this lowest condition of mankind still surviving at the present day, but he will surely anticipate that archæological, historical, and ethnological research must reveal facts pointing plainly towards such an early condition. He will also anticipate that these sciences will bring to our knowledge tribes in an intellectual stage which is less remote from that presumed early condition than from a choice-assemblage of men living now—say, the members of our own ‘Royal Society.’

• A supporter of the dualistic hypothesis must, on the other hand, maintain that man at the very first moment of his existence was at once essentially man, and separated, at his very origin, from the highest brutes by as impassable a gulf as that which anywhere exists between them to-day. He will consequently not only maintain that no race will anywhere be found without a mode of rational expression, moral perceptions, and religious conceptions (however rudimentary or atrophied), but also that the first men possessed all these. He will be confident that no scientific researches will bring to our knowledge any human races devoid of reason, or (what is its necessary concomitant in a “rational animal”) the power of expressing internal *thoughts*, as distinguished from mere *feelings*, by external sensible signs. He will also expect to find in all races of men indications of religious conceptions and of an apprehension of right and wrong, however curiously or perversely these abstract conceptions may be concretely embodied. Finally, he will be confident that no race will be found less remote intellectually from the highest existing men than from a state of brutal irrationality. The actual first origin of man must for ever remain a problem insoluble by unaided reason—a matter incapable of direct investigation, and, revelation apart, only to be investigated by conjecture and analogy. This being so, we must be content to study existing
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racés of men, and thence arrive at the best conclusions we may, with the aid to be derived from history, archæology, and geology.

The questions, then, to which attention should be directed with a view to determining whether the balance of evidence favours the monistic or the dualistic hypothesis, are the following; and to answer these, the savage, *Homo sylvaticus*, must serve as our test. 1. Can any direct evidence be found of races of man, past or present, existing in a brutal or irrational condition? 2. Does available evidence clearly point to the past existence of such a condition? 3. Are races anywhere to be found in a condition which is less remote from mere animal existence than from the highest human development of which we have as yet experience.

Should unmistakable evidence of the sort be forthcoming, then the existence of an essential difference, a difference of kind, between human and brutal nature, could no longer be maintained. It would also follow that if other animals have arisen by a merely natural process of development, reason could oppose no barrier to the belief that the origin of man, in the totality of his nature, was also due to such a merely natural process. If, on the other hand, no such direct evidence is forthcoming, and none even pointing clearly in the indicated direction; if, also, no races can be found in a condition nearer to irrational brutality than to the highest refinement; then it must be admitted that we have no scientific ground for asserting that man is of one nature with the brutes, or that it is an *à priori* probability that his origin was the same as theirs.

More than this, in the absence of such evidence it may fairly be inferred that there is an *à priori* probability against this community of nature and origin. It may be so inferred, because it seems likely that if all men were once irrational animals, some tribe of the kind would have survived in some remote part of the world to this day, especially as, on the theory of evolution, they must have been well fitted to maintain themselves under the conditions existing in their own region.

Man is generally admitted to be, as to antiquity, at the most but a tertiary mammal; but Australia presents us with a fauna in some respects triassic. Some eminent authorities, however, assert that miocene man still exists, and that we behold him in the Esquimaux. It may naturally be a matter of some regret that this cannot be proved, since, if the Esquimaux are indeed miocene men surviving to this day, an investigation of their mental condition would almost suffice to solve the problem decisively one way or the other. It would suffice to solve it since

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we might fairly argue from the progress made between the miocene period and to-day, to that which might be supposed to have taken place between the beginning of the tertiary period and the miocene.

If, however, ethnology and archæology fail to furnish due evidence, and thus show themselves manifestly incompetent to solve the question, then the cause must be transferred to the tribunal of Philosophy for decisive judgment. In that case, if philosophy (including psychology) shows us, as we are convinced it does, that there is a difference of kind between the lowest races of men and the highest species of brutes, pointing to a difference of essential principle, and, therefore, of origin, then ethnology and archæology (in the case of their supposed failure as to the evidence referred to) become important auxiliaries, and will powerfully aid to reinforce such conclusion. They will, by their eloquent silence, supply us with additional grounds for maintaining that the progress of physical science will but more and more clearly bring out the difference existing between all merely animal natures and that of the rational animal man.

The works of the authors whose names head this review are most valuable for our purpose. They are most valuable, in the first place, on account of the industry, patience, ability, and candour with which they have amassed, digested, and laid before their readers all the most important facts which either archæology or ethnology has afforded, tending to throw light upon the lower stages of human existence. Secondly, however, they are of especial value because their authors belong to that school which adopts the monistic view as to man's origin—that is to say, the school of Lamarck, Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer. We may, therefore, confidently rely upon any statements or admissions made by Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock which tell *against* the monistic hypothesis; while we may fairly assume, from the eminent qualities these authors possess, that when they fail to bring forward data *favourable* to that view it is because no such data in reality exist.

We may now proceed to examine their testimony, and we think the following order of subjects may be convenient: 1, Speech; 2, Morals; 3, Religion; 4, Progress; 5, Community of Nature; 6, Results.

I. As to *Speech*, Sir John Lubbock at once admits: * 'Although it has been at various times stated that certain savages are entirely without language, none of these accounts appear to be well authenticated.' The recklessness with which assertions are made about savage tribes is, as we shall shortly see, so great,

* 'Origin of Civilisation,' p. 275.

that no account ought to be fully received without a knowledge of the bias of the relater and a careful criticism of his statements. As to 'speech,' such is the amount of ambiguity and confusion which commonly accompanies the use of the word that some preliminary explanations and definitions are absolutely requisite. The essence of language is mental—an intellectual activity called the *verbum mentale*; but actual 'speech' itself is the outward expression of thoughts (rational conceptions) by articulate sounds—the *verbum oris*. Now we may have (1) animal sounds that are neither rational nor articulate; (2) sounds that are articulate but not rational; (3) sounds that are rational but not articulate; (4) sounds that are both rational and articulate; (5) gestures which do not answer to rational conceptions; and (6) gestures which do answer to such conceptions, and are, therefore, external but non-oral manifestations of the *verbum mentale*.

The sounds emitted by brutes, which denote merely emotions and bodily sensations, belong to the first category. Mere articulate sounds, without concomitant intellectual activity, such as those emitted by trained parrots or jackdaws (and which, of course, are not 'speech'), belong to the second category. The third category comprises inarticulate ejaculations which express assent to or dissent from given propositions. The fourth category is that of true speech. Gestures, which are merely the manifestations of emotions and feelings are not the equivalents of speech, and belong to the fifth category. But gestures without sound may be rational external manifestations of internal thoughts, and, therefore, the real equivalents of words. Such are many of the gestures of deaf-mutes incapable of articulating words which constitute a true gesture-language. All such belong to the sixth category. Thus it is plainly conceivable that a brute might manifest its feelings and emotions not only by gestures, but also by articulate sounds, without for all that possessing even the germ of real language. Similarly a paralysed man might have essentially the power of speech (the *verbum mentale*), though accidentally hindered from externally manifesting that inner power by means of the *verbum oris*. Normally the external and internal powers exist inseparably. Once that the intellectual activity exists, it seeks external expression by symbols, verbal, manual or what not—the voice or gesture-language. Some form of symbolic expression is, therefore, the necessary consequence of the possession by an animal of the faculty of reason.* On the other hand, it is impossible

* Mr. Tylor ('Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 68) says that though deaf-mutes prove that man may have thought without speech, yet
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impossible that rational speech can for a moment exist without the co-existence with it of that internal, intellectual activity of which it is the outward expression.

Few recent intellectual phenomena are more astounding than the ignorance of these elementary yet fundamental distinctions and principles, exhibited by conspicuous advocates of the monistic hypothesis. Mr. Darwin, for example, does not exhibit the faintest indication of having grasped them, yet a clear perception of them, and a direct and detailed examination of his facts with regard to them, was a *sine quâ non* for attempting, with a chance of success, the solution of the mystery as to the descent of man. We actually heard Professor Vogt at Norwich (at the British Association Meeting of 1868), in discussing certain cases of aphasia, declare before the whole physiological section, 'Je ne comprends pas la parole dans un homme qui ne parle pas'—a declaration which manifestly showed that he was not qualified to form, still less so to express, any opinion whatever on the subject. Again, Professor Oscar Schmidt, in trying to account for the natural origin of man, quotes,* with approbation, Geiger's words: 'Die Sprache hat die Vernunft geschaffen: vor ihr war der Mensch vernunftlos'—not seeing that he might as well attempt to account for the 'convexities' of a sigmoid line by its 'concavities.' The 'concavities' could as easily exist before the 'convexities' as the existence of the *verbum oris* could antedate that of the *verbum mentale*.† It is almost enough to make one despair of progress when one finds such real 'nonsense' solemnly propounded to a learned audience, and when such amazing ignorance shows itself in men who are looked up to as *teachers*!

It is then *rational* language—the external manifestation, whether by sound or gesture, of general conceptions—which has to be considered. It has to be ascertained whether or not its existence is, as far as the evidence goes, universal amongst mankind; also whether the lowest forms of speech discoverable are so much below the highest forms as to appear transitional steps from irrational cries, and, consequently, whether there is any positive evidence for the origin of speech by any process of

not without 'any physical expression,' rather 'the reverse.' But no sound philosopher ever dreamed of maintaining the absurdity Mr. Tylor here opposes.

* 'Die Anwendung der Descendenzlehre auf den Menschen,' Leipzig, 1873, p. 30.

† It is, we suppose, to an obscure, not-thought-out perception of this inseparability, that we must attribute the singular contradiction given to himself by Mr. Darwin in his 'Descent of Man.' In one place (vol. i. p. 54) he attributes the faculty of speech in man to his having acquired a higher intellectual nature, while in another place (vol. ii. p. 391) he ascribes man's intellectual nature to his having acquired the faculty of speech.

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evolution. It is not emotional expressions or the manifestations of sensible impressions which we have to consider, but the enunciations of distinct judgments as to 'the what,' 'the how,' and 'the why,' whether by sound or by gesture.

In the first place, perhaps, it may be well to consider those speechless human beings now existing—the deaf-mutes. As to these Mr. Tylor tells us:—

'Even in a low state of education, the deaf-mute seems to conceive general ideas, for when he invents a sign for anything he applies it to all other things of the same class, and he can also form abstract ideas in a certain way, or, at least, he knows that there is a quality in which snow and milk agree, and he can go on adding other white things, such as the moon and whitewash, to his list. He can form a proposition, for he can make us understand, and we can make him understand, that "this man is old, that man is young." Nor does he seem incapable of reasoning in something like a syllogism, even when he has no means of communicating but the gesture-language; and certainly as soon as he has learnt to read that "all men are mortal, John is a man, therefore John is a mortal," he will show by every means of illustration in his power, that he fully comprehends the argument.'*

The intellectual activity of their minds is indeed evidenced by the peculiar construction of their sentences. Mr. Tylor tells us (p. 25): 'Their usual construction is not "black horse," but "horse black;" not "bring a black hat," but "hat black bring;" not "I am hungry, give me bread," but "hungry me bread give."'† Thus we see how thoroughly mistaken Professor Huxley was when he asserted ('Man's Place in Nature,' p. 102, note): 'A man born dumb, notwithstanding his great cerebral mass and his inheritance of strong intellectual instincts, would be capable of *few higher intellectual manifestations than an orang or a chimpanzee*, if he were confined to the society of his dumb associates.' Quite contrary to this, there can be no doubt but that a society of dumb men would soon elaborate a gesture-language of great complexity.

Passing now to savage men, Mr. Tylor makes some excellent remarks on, and brings forward a good example of, that reckless and unjust depreciation of native tribes of which travellers are so apt to be guilty, and of which we shall find other examples when we come to the subject of religion. A Mr. Mercer having said of the Veddah tribes of Ceylon that their communications have little resemblance to distinct sounds or systematised language, Mr. Tylor observes (p. 78):—

* 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 66.

† This spontaneous tendency may be pleaded in mitigation of De Candolle's strictures on Latin construction as unnatural.

‘Mr. Mercer seems to have adopted the common view of foreigners about the Veddahs, but it has happened here, as in many other accounts of savage tribes, that closer acquaintance has shown them to have been wrongly accused. Mr. Bailey, who has had good opportunities of studying them, . . . contradicts their supposed deficiency in language with the remark, “I never knew one of them at a loss for words sufficiently intelligible to convey his meaning, not to his fellows only, but to the Singhalese of the neighbourhood, who are all more or less acquainted with the Veddah patois.”’

Again, as to another well-known traveller he remarks (p. 79):—

‘It is extremely likely that Madame Pfeiffer’s savages suffered the penalty of being set down as wanting in language, for no worse fault than using a combination of words and signs in order to make what they meant as clear as possible to her comprehension.’

As to the universality of the *verbum mentale* in man he observes (p. 80):—

‘As the gesture-language is substantially the same among savage tribes all over the world, and also among children who cannot speak, so the picture-writings of savages are not only similar to one another, but are like what children make untaught even in civilised countries. Like the universal language of gestures, the art of picture-writing tends to prove that the mind of the uncultured man works in much the same way at all times and everywhere. . . . *Man* is essentially, what the derivation of his name among our Aryan race imports, not “the speaker,” but he who thinks, he who *means*.’

In other words, he is a *rational animal*. Mr. Tylor reinforces these remarks elsewhere* by saying:—

‘It always happens, in the study of the lower races, that the more means we have of understanding their thoughts, the more sense and reason do we find in them.’

A great deal has been sometimes made of the alleged inability of some savages to count more than five, or even three, and this fact is occasionally advanced* as pointing to a transition from the psychical powers of brutes to the intelligence of man. We shall return to this hereafter, but some fitting remarks by Mr. Tylor may be here appropriately quoted:—

‘Of course, it no more follows among savages than among ourselves, that because a man counts on his fingers his language must be wanting in words to express the number he wishes to reckon. For example, it was noticed that when natives of Kamskatka were set to count, they would reckon all their fingers, and then all their toes, getting up to 20, and then would ask, “What are we to do next?” Yet it was

* ‘Primitive Culture,’ vol. i. p. 322.

found on examination that numbers up to 100 existed in their language.'

Concerning the origin of existing articulate words, Mr. Tylor distinctly repudiates the 'bow-wow hypothesis' as insufficient. For instance, with respect to the family of words represented by the Sanskrit *vad*, to go, the Latin *vado*, he says (*Ibid.* p. 195): 'To this root there seems no sufficient ground for assigning an imitative origin, the traces of which it has at any rate lost if it ever had them.' Again, as to early words he says (*Ibid.* p. 207): 'It is obvious that the leading principle of their formation is not to adopt words distinguished by the expressive character of their sound, but to choose somehow a *fixed word* to answer a *given purpose*.' As to the arbitrary way in which articulate words are used to express sounds and the little real resemblance existing between them, he tells us (*Ibid.* p. 182): 'The Australian imitation of a spear or bullet striking is given as *toop*; to the Zulu when a calabash is beaten it says *boo*.' He concludes (*Ibid.* p. 208):—

'I do not think that the evidence here adduced justifies the setting up of what is called the Interjectional and Imitative theory as a complete solution of the problem of original language. Valid as this theory proves itself within limits, it would be incautious to accept a hypothesis which can, perhaps, satisfactorily account for a twentieth of the crude forms in any language, as a certain and absolute explanation of the nineteen-twentieths whose origin remains doubtful. . . . Too narrow a theory of the application of sound to sense may fail to include the varied devices which the languages of different regions turn to account. It is thus with the distinction in meaning of a word by its musical accent, and the distinction of distance by graduated vowels. These are ingenious and intelligible [intellectual?] contrivances, but they hardly seem directly emotional or imitative in origin.'

Thus it seems not only that neither Sir John Lubbock nor Mr. Tylor is able to bring forward any evidence of a speechless condition of man, but that they are constrained to admit that all available evidence points in the opposite direction, and that it shows speech to be universal amongst existing races. Even those abnormal and unfortunate beings the deaf-mutes are seen to be intellectually endowed with language, so that they infinitely more resemble a man that is gagged than they do an irrational animal. The essential community intellectually existing between them and us is shown by our occasional use of what Mr. Tylor calls* 'picture words,' where 'a substantive is treated as the

* 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 63.

root or crude form of a verb,' as, *e.g.*, 'to *butter* bread, to *cudgel* a man, to *oil* machinery, to *pepper* a dish.'

Turning now to the other question we had to consider, namely, the relation of the lowest forms of speech to the highest, Mr. Tylor may again be cited with advantage. He expresses himself* thus: 'We come back to the fact, so full of suggestion, that the languages of the world represent substantially the same intellectual art, the higher nations indeed gaining more expressive power than the lowest tribes, yet doing this not by introducing new and more effective central principles, but by mere addition and improvement in detail.' Speaking of the native proverbs of Fernando Po, he tells us,† 'There are hundreds at about as high an intellectual level as those of Europe,' and he cites examples. We have said that we mean by language, not emotional expressions, but the enunciations of judgments concerning 'the *what*,' 'the *how*,' and 'the *why*.' Mr. Tylor's verdict as to the result of the application of this test to the expressions of savages is sufficiently distinct. He says:‡

'Man's craving to know the *causes* at work in each event he witnesses, the reasons *why* each state of things he surveys is such as it is and no other, is no product of high civilisation, but a characteristic of his race down to its *lowest stage*. Among rude savages it is already an intellectual appetite whose satisfaction claims many of the moments not engrossed by war or sport, food or sleep.'

This decisive judgment may yet be reinforced by some admissions made by Mr. Darwin himself:§

'The Fuegians rank amongst the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how closely the three natives on board H.M.S. "Beagle," who had lived some years in England and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition, and in most of our mental qualities.'

Again: ||—

'The American aborigines, negroes, and Europeans, differ as much from each other in mind as any three races that can be named; yet I was incessantly struck, whilst living with the Fuegians on board the "Beagle," with the many little traits of character, showing how similar their minds were to ours; and so it was with a full-blooded negro with whom I happened once to be intimate.'

It would be easy, but superfluous, to add to these testimonies. They are amply sufficient to show that, in the opinion of those

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 216.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 332. The italics are ours.

§ 'Voyage of the "Beagle,"' vol. i. p. 34.

Vol. 137.—No. 273.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 80.

|| Ibid. p. 232..

most capable of acquiring and most certain to acquire information tending to confirm the monistic hypothesis, not only are there no evidences of men in a nascent state as to the power of speech, but that all available evidence shows that in the essentials of language all existing races of men are mentally one. This, indeed, is manifest and undeniable. No tribe exists which cannot count two, cannot say 'I,' 'woman,' 'death,' 'food,' &c. In other words, there is no tribe which does not express general conceptions and abstract ideas by articulate sounds. But the differences between vocal sounds capable of such expression are but differences of *degree*, while the difference between all such utterances and vocal utterances which but express sensations and emotions is a difference of *kind*. Therefore we are compelled to conclude that the most imperfect languages offer us no indication of a transition from irrational cries, being separated from the latter by an indefinitely wide barrier, while they differ from the highest speech, but by a greater simplicity, which indeed is sometimes more apparent than real, as we shall see more plainly hereafter. This being the case, it necessarily follows that we have no positive evidence whatever for the origin of speech by any process of evolution. As to the *possibility* of its origin by such a process from the cries of brutes, the sciences we are here occupied with, ethnology and archæology, can of course tell us nothing. The reply to that question is given by philosophy and psychology.

II. We now come to the second branch of our inquiry, that concerning *Morals*—concerning the universality or non-universality amongst mankind of a power of apprehending 'right' or 'wrong.' And here again it is necessary to distinguish and define what is meant by this human mental power, because ambiguity and misunderstanding as to this matter are at least as common as in the matter of language. By this power is *not* meant merely a feeling of sympathy, a deference to the desires of others, or some emotional excitement tending to produce materially kind and benevolent actions. Still less is meant the volitional impulse which in all cases directly produces such actions, since this may or may not be 'moral,' according to the circumstances of each case. What is meant is an intellectual activity evinced by the expression of definite judgments passed upon certain modes of action abstractedly considered. The existence of kindly social customs cannot be taken as necessarily proving the existence of such intellectual activity in the absence of some intimation by word or gesture of a moral apprehension. Similarly no amount of gross or atrocious habits in any given tribe can be taken to prove its entire absence. The liking or disliking

liking (and therefore the frequent practice or neglect) of certain actions is one thing; the act of judging that such actions, whether pleasant or unpleasant, are 'right' or 'wrong' is an altogether different thing.

A man may, for instance, judge that he *ought* to renounce a tender friendship without its becoming less delightful to him to continue it. Another may perceive that he has acted *rightly* in foregoing a pecuniary advantage though mentally suffering acute distress from the consequences of his just act. Again, differences of judgment as to the goodness or badness of particular concrete actions have nothing to do with the point we have to consider. Thus the most revolting act that can well be cited, that of the deliberate murder of aged parents, monstrous as the act in itself is, may really be one of filial piety if, as is asserted, the savage perpetrators do it at the wish of such parents themselves, and from a conviction that thereby they not only save them from suffering in this world, but also confer upon them prolonged happiness in the next. Hence we must judge of the moral or non-moral condition of savage tribes by their own declarations when these can be obtained, or by expressive actions as far as possible the equivalent of such declarations. We have already seen the essential community of intellectual nature existing amongst all living races as regards the faculty of speech. From the existence of this community of nature, we may fairly conclude that deliberate articulate judgments of lower races have substantially the same meaning as in our own, whatever may be the concrete actions which occasion the expression of such abstract judgments.

We are all familiar with the constantly employed expressions denoting moral judgments amongst ourselves, and those of us who reflect upon the subject are generally aware that in asserting that anything is 'right,' they mean to make a judgment altogether distinct from one asserting the same thing to be pleasurable or advantageous. Even some men who, like the late John Stuart Mill, assert that the principle regulating our actions should be the production of the greatest amount of pleasure to all sentient beings, must assert that there is either no obligation at all to accept this principle itself, or that such obligation is a 'moral' one. The distinction being then generally and practically recognised as existing amongst ourselves, we have to examine the following points:—Whether, even according to the admission of the authors whose works we are considering, there is any evidence that moral perceptions are wanting in any savage tribes? Whether any races exist in a condition which may be considered as a transitional state

between our own and the amoral condition of beasts? Whether any peoples have their moral perceptions so perverted—so remote from those of the highest races—as to result in the formation of abstract judgments directly contradicting the abstract moral judgments of such highest races? And here again we must be greatly on our guard against the involuntary misrepresentations and the hasty and careless misinterpretations of unskilled observers and inaccurate narrators. Sir John Lubbock himself observes :* ‘ We all know how difficult it is to judge an individual, and it must be much more so to judge a nation. In fact, whether any given writer praises or blames a particular race, depends *at least as much on the character of the writer as on that of the people.*’ Again, we must be careful not to apply to savage tribes standards applicable only to higher races. The essence of morality being the conformity of acts to an ethical ideal, neither the worst any more than the best moral development, whatever be the concrete acts, can coexist with an undeveloped intellectual condition. If any tribes are intellectually in a puerile condition, puerile also must be their moral state. Here we may again quote Sir John Lubbock with approval. He says (p. 340) :

‘ The lowest moral and the lowest intellectual condition are not only, in my opinion, not inseparable, they are not even compatible. . . . The lower races of men may be, and are, vicious ; but allowances must be made for them. On the contrary (*corruptio optimi pessima est*), the higher the mental power, the more splendid the intellectual endowment, the deeper is the moral degradation of him who wastes the one and abuses the other.’

Now one of the clearest ethical judgments is that as to ‘ justice ’ and ‘ injustice,’ and by common consent the native Australians are admitted to be at about the lowest level of existing social development, while as we have seen the Esquimaux are deemed by some to be surviving specimens of the (up to the present time hypothetical) ‘ miocene men.’

Concerning the first of these races, the Australians, Sir John Lubbock tells us :—

‘ The amount of legal revenge, if I may so call it, is often strictly regulated, even where we should least expect to find such limitations. Thus, in Australia, crimes may be compounded for by the criminal appearing and submitting himself to the ordeal of having spears thrown at him by all such persons as conceive themselves to have been aggrieved, or by permitting spears to be thrust through certain parts of his body ; such as through the thigh, or the calf of the leg,

* ‘ Origin of Civilisation,’ p. 259.

or under the arm. The part which is to be pierced by a spear is fixed for all common crimes, and a native who has incurred this penalty sometimes quietly holds out his leg for the injured party to thrust his spear through! So strictly is the amount of punishment limited, that if, in inflicting such spear-wounds, a man, either through carelessness or from any other cause, exceeded the recognised limits—if, for instance, he wounded the femoral artery—he would in his turn become liable to punishment.’—*Origin of Civilisation*, p. 318. •

The next is a yet stronger example of savage refinement, furnished us by Sir John Lubbock :—

‘Among the Greenlanders, should a seal escape with a hunter’s javelin in it, and be killed by another man afterwards, it belongs to the former. But if the seal is struck with the harpoon and bladder, and the string breaks, the hunter loses his right. If a man finds a seal dead with a harpoon in it, he keeps the seal but returns the harpoon. . . . Any man who finds a piece of drift-wood can appropriate it by placing a stone on it, as a sign that some one has taken possession of it. No other Greenlander will then touch it.’—*Ibid.* p. 305. •

But perhaps the recently extinct Tasmanians were at a lower level than the Australians. If so, Mr. Tylor shows us by a legend which he relates,* that they had a strong appreciation of even *male* conjugal fidelity. The inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego are, if possible, more wretched savages than the Australians, yet it is very interesting to note that even with respect to these no less hostile a witness than Mr. Darwin himself informs us,† that when a certain Mr. Bynoe shot some very young ducklings as specimens, a Fuegian declared in the most solemn manner, ‘Oh, Mr. Bynoe, much rain, snow, blow much.’ And as to this declaration, Mr. Darwin tells us that the anticipated bad weather ‘was evidently a retributive punishment for wasting human food,’ *i.e.* for a transgression of the aborted moral code recognised by the Fuegian in question.

That the language of savage tribes is capable of expressing moral conceptions will probably be contested by no one. Similarly no one will probably deny that when a savage emphatically calls ‘bad’ an act of treachery done to himself by one to whom he has been kind, his mind recognises, at least in a rudimentary way, an element of *ingratitude* in such an action. But, in fact, that identity of intellectual nature, fundamentally considered, which we have found to exist in all men as the necessary accompaniment of language, at once establishes a very

* ‘Researches into the Early History of Mankind,’ p. 328.

† ‘Voyage of the “Beagle,”’ vol. i. p. 215.

strong *à priori* probability in favour of a similar universality as to the power of apprehending good and evil. The *onus probandi* lies clearly with those who deny it, and yet not only are Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock unable to bring forward facts capable of establishing the existence of a non-moral race of men, but they bring forward instances and announce conclusions of an opposite character. Mr. Tylor observes:—

‘Glancing down the moral scale amongst mankind at large, we find no tribe standing at or near zero. The asserted existence of savages so low as to have no moral standard is *too groundless to be discussed*. Every human tribe has its general views as to what conduct is right and what wrong, and each generation hands the standard on to the next. Even in the details of those moral standards, wide as their differences are, there is a yet wider agreement throughout the human race. . . . No known tribe, however low and ferocious, has ever admitted that men may kill one another indiscriminately. . . . The Sioux Indians, among themselves, hold manslaughter, unless by way of blood revenge, to be a crime, and the Dayaks also punish murder.’—*Contemporary Review*, April 1873, pp. 702, 714.

In another place,* Mr. Tylor, after showing different early conditions of the tenure of property and the occasional estimation of the tribe as the social unit, &c., adds: ‘Their various grades of culture had each according to its lights its standard of right and wrong, and they are to be judged on the criterion whether they did well or ill according to this standard.’ There being thus no question as to the non-existence of any non-moral race of men, can we find evidence of any transitional stage? But the difference between moral and non-moral existence is a difference of *kind*, and therefore ‘transitions’ are here no more possible than between articulate sound-giving animals which have not reason and articulate sound-giving animals who have it.

It may be replied, however, that Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor at least believe in the natural and gradual development of man from the non-moral to the moral mode of existence, and that therefore the facts cited cannot have the force here attributed to them. To this it must be answered that the faculty of accumulating many facts, or that of arranging and presenting them in a perspicuous and persuasive manner, by no means necessarily carries with it a faculty of understanding what those facts really teach. That such an assertion of intellectual deficiency may not repose upon the mere *ipse dixit* of the present writer, it may be well to quote the judgment of one who is himself a master in those archæological subjects in which Sir John Lubbock is such a

* *Contemporary Review*, June 1873, p. 72.

proficient, while he is also a most distinguished biologist and a man of universal culture. Professor Rolleston upon this subject remarks * as follows :—

‘It is strange, indeed, that Sir John Lubbock *does not see* how his method of accounting for the genesis of the notions of right and wrong, like that of all other utilitarians, *actually presupposes their existence!* How could the old men “praise” or “condemn” except by reference to some pre-existing standard of right and wrong? How could the parties injured by the violation of a compact “naturally condemn” it except by a tacit or articulate reference to some “naturally implanted,” or, at all events, to some already existing, standard of virtue and vice? Language, which in matters of this kind faithfully reproduces the existence of feelings, and even to some extent the history of our race, will not lend itself to the support of their theories, and gives the Dialectician for once a real victory over the Natural Historian. . . . We must also express our surprise that Sir John Lubbock should not have drawn attention to the difficulty which in early stages of our history must have beset the collection of those “experiences of utility,” of which Mr. Herbert Spencer speaks as the foundation of our so-called moral intuitions; and, secondly, to the exceeding unfitness of the “nervous organisation,” which Mr. Huxley calls “the thoughtless brains,” of a savage, to act as a storehouse for such experiences when obtained. For, firstly, the wicked often remain in a state of great prosperity for periods commensurate with the lifetime of an entire population of civilised, not to speak of the notoriously shorter-lived savage, men; and a lifelong experience would neutralise the results, not merely of tradition, but of hereditary transmission. And, secondly, as Sir John Lubbock himself tells us (p. 70), with reference to the practice of infanticide, the “distinction between the sexes implies an amount of forethought and prudence which the lower races of men do not possess.” We commend this estimate of the faculties and capacities of our ancestors to the careful consideration of those philosophers who suppose them to have been capable of processes of stock-taking, which must, *ex hypothesi*, have enabled them to anticipate the epigram, “Honesty is the best policy.”’—*The Academy*, Nov. 15, 1870.

We have thus Professor Rolleston with us when we assert that it is impossible to account for the natural development of a moral power of judgment, without, in fact, presupposing its actual existence—since such judgment cannot exist without an ethical standard, and such standard cannot exist without an ethical judgment.

The third question, then, now alone remains: namely, whether the moral perceptions of any people are so perverted as to directly contradict our own abstract moral judgments. In the

* The italics are not Professor Rolleston's.

words of Mr. Lecky : *—‘ It is not to be expected, it is not to be maintained, that men in all ages should have agreed about the application of their moral principles. All that is contended for is that these principles are themselves the same . . . in fact, that, however these principles might be applied, still humanity was recognised as a virtue, and cruelty as a vice.’ † But if opponents have been unable to bring instances to show the existence of a non-moral race, still less can they prove the existence of one the moral principles of which are *inverted*. Let thieving be here and there encouraged and taught, yet dishonesty is nowhere erected into a principle, but is reprobated in the very maxim ‘honour amongst thieves.’ Frightful cruelty towards prisoners was practised by the North American Indians, but it was towards *prisoners*, and cruelty was never inculcated as an ideal to be always aimed at so that remorse of conscience should be felt by any man who happened to have let slip a possible opportunity of cruelty towards any one. As another writer has well expressed it ‡:—‘ Many men doubtless in various times and places have thought it right to do many an act which we know to be unjust; still they have never thought it right *because* unjust; they have never thought it right for the sake of any virtuousness which they have supposed to reside in injustice; but because of the virtuousness of *beneficence*, or *gratitude*, or the like. Similarly many men think an act wrong, because they think it unjust; but they never think it wrong because they think it *just*.’

We may then safely conclude that there exists no evidence whatever yet discovered for the existence of races either non-moral or with a really inverted morality, or for the evolution of a ‘moral state’ from a pre-existing brutal and ‘amoral’ condition of mankind. The question as to the *possibility* of such a process of evolution is a philosophical question, and cannot of course be solved by the sciences of the writers reviewed—namely, ethnology and archæology. Nevertheless, we have indirectly and by the way found strong reasons to believe it impossible; but for an exhaustive treatment of the question there is here no space, and this is not the place. To have ascertained that no positive evidence whatever is yet forthcoming has been sufficient for our present purpose.

III. In proceeding to the third branch of our inquiry, that concerning *Religion*—concerning the universality, or non-

* ‘Morals,’ vol. i. p. 104.

† Mr. Lecky (*op. cit.* p. 105) gives some interesting quotations from Helvetius, ‘De l’Esprit,’ vol. ii. p. 13, to show how practices which are at first glaringly immoral, come, when fully understood, to appear relatively moral, and a positive improvement upon other customs they have displaced.

‡ ‘Dublin Review,’ January 1872, p. 65.

universality, of religious conceptions—it is once more necessary to commence with definitions and distinctions. It is obvious that it cannot here be meant to assert that men have, almost universally, a positive religious belief, since so vast a number of those we know familiarly have none. It is evident that we cannot be surprised at finding generally diffused in some other nations, irreligious or non-religious phenomena analogous to those we may meet with in our own. Neither can it be meant that a distinct religious system is to be found in every nation or tribe, since it would manifestly be very probable that the descendants of some isolated irreligious parents should have grown up devoid of religion altogether. What is meant by the universality of religious conceptions is the general diffusion amongst all considerable races of men: first, of a power to apprehend the existence of a good supernatural Being possessed of knowledge and will, and rewarding men in another world in accordance with their conduct in this; secondly, of a tendency to believe in the actual existence of superhuman powers and beings, and also in an existence beyond the grave—however shadowy, distorted, or aborted such conceptions may seem to us to be.

We have then to consider our authors' teachings as to the following questions:—First, whether any people are now in a state as unconscious of the preternatural and as unconcerned with regard to a future life, as are the brutes? Secondly, whether any races exist which may be deemed to be in a transitional condition from brutish non-religiosity, or with religious conceptions so essentially divergent from our own as to be different in *kind*, and, therefore, incapable of transition either from or to the highest religious condition? But if in the former inquiries it was necessary for us to be upon our guard against the misapprehensions and misinterpretations of travellers, it is still more necessary for us to be so here. The necessity is so great because both theological and anti-theological prejudices are more likely than are any others to warp the judgment and influence the appreciations of even well-meaning observers. As to the theological prejudice, however, we can effectually guard against that by building upon the facts and inferences offered to us by the authors we are reviewing. Whatever may be their most conspicuous merits, or their shortcomings, theological prejudice will not be a vice we shall have to guard against in them. Admissions made by them, favourable to theology, may be accepted without apprehension upon that score.

As regards the influence of bias in this matter we cite some remarks of Mr. Tylor himself which are well worthy of consideration (the italics are ours):—

‘While

‘ While observers who have had fair opportunities of studying the religions of savages have thus sometimes done scant justice to the facts before their eyes, the hasty denials of others who have judged without even facts can carry no great weight. A sixteenth-century traveller gave an account of the natives of Florida which is typical of such : “ Touching the religion of this people which wee have found, for want of their language wee could not understand neither by signs nor gesture that they had any religion or lawse at all. . . . We suppose that they have no religion at all, and that they live at their own libertie.” Better knowledge of these Floridans nevertheless showed that they had a religion, and better knowledge has reversed many another hasty assertion to the same effect ; as when writers used to declare that the natives of Madagascar had no idea of a future state, and no word for soul or spirit, or when Dampier inquired after the religion of the natives of Timor, and was told that they had none ; or when Sir Thomas Roe landed in Saldanha Bay, on his way to the court of the Great Mogul, and remarked of the Hottentots that “ they have left off their custom of stealing, but know no God or religion.” Among the numerous accounts collected by Sir John Lubbock as *evidence* bearing on the absence or low development of religion among low races, some may be selected as lying open to criticism from this point of view. Thus, the statement that the Samoan Islanders had no religion cannot stand in the face of the elaborate description by the Rev. G. Turner of the Samoan religion itself ; and the assertion that the Tapinombas of Brazil had no religion, is one not to be received without some more positive proof, for the religious doctrines and practices of the Tapi race have been recorded by Lery, De Laet, and other writers. Even with much time and care and knowledge of language, it is not always easy to elicit from savages the details of their theology. They rather try to hide from the prying and contemptuous foreigner their worship of gods who seem to shrink, like their worshippers, before the white man and his mightier Deity. And thus, even where no positive proof of religious development among any particular tribe has reached us, we should distrust its denial by observers whose acquaintance with the tribe in question has not been intimate as well as kindly. Assertions of this sort are made *very carelessly*. Thus, it is said of the Andaman Islanders that they have not the rudest elements of a religious faith ; Dr. Monat states this explicitly ; yet it appears that the natives did not even display to the foreigners the rude music which they actually possessed, so that they could scarcely have been expected to be communicative as to their theology, if they had any. In our time, the most striking negation of the religion of savage tribes is that published by Sir Samuel Baker, in a paper read in 1866 before the Ethnological Society of London, as follows : “ The most northern tribes of the White Nile are the Dinkas, Shillooks, Nuehr, Kytch, Bohr, Aliab, and Shir. A general description will suffice for the whole, excepting the Kytch. Without any exception, they are without a belief in a supreme being, neither have they any form of worship or idolatry ; nor is the darkness of their minds enlightened by even a
ray

ray of superstition." Had this distinguished explorer spoken only of the Latukas, or of other tribes hardly known to ethnographers except through his own intercourse with them, his denial of any religious consciousness to them would have been at least entitled to stand as the best procurable account, until more intimate communication should prove or disprove it. But in speaking thus of comparatively well-known tribes, such as the Dinkas, Shillooks, and Nuehr, Sir S. Baker ignores the existence of published evidence, such as describes the sacrifices of the Dinkas, their belief in good and evil spirits (adjok and djyok), their good deity and heaven-dwelling creator, Dendid, as likewise Néar, the deity of the Nuehr, and the Shillooks' creator, who is described as visiting, like other spirits, a sacred wood or tree. Kaufmann, Boun, Bollet, Lejean, and other observers, had thus placed on record details of the religion of these White Nile tribes, years before Sir Samuel Baker's rash denial that they had any religion at all.'—*Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 381.

Again Mr. Tylor quotes, as surprisingly inconsistent,—

'Mr. Moffat's declaration as to the Bechuanas, that "man's immortality was never heard of among that people," he having remarked in the sentence next before, that the word for the shades or manes of the dead is "liriti." In South America, again, Don Felix de Azara comments on the positive falsity of the ecclesiastics' assertion that the native tribes have a religion. He simply declares that they have none; nevertheless, in the course of his work he mentions such facts as that the Payaguas bury arms and clothing with their dead, and have some notions of a future life, and that the Guanas believe in a being who rewards good and punishes evil. In fact, this author's reckless denial of religion and law to the lower races of this region justifies D'Orbigny's sharp criticism * that "this is indeed what he says of all the nations he describes, while actually proving the contrary of his thesis by the very facts he alleges in its support."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 379.

Once more, as to the easy way in which the real meaning of words may escape the reporters of such expressions, Mr. Tylor judiciously observes :—

'Prudent ethnographers must often doubt accounts of such, for this reason, that the savage who declares that the dead live no more, may merely mean to say *that they are dead*. When the East African is asked what becomes of his buried ancestors, the "old people," he can reply that "they are ended," yet at the same time he fully admits that their ghosts survive.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 18.

Mr. Tylor's own belief (expressed, of course, in terms conformable to his own view of evolution) as to the religion of the lower races is thus declared :† 'Genuine savage faiths do, in

* 'L'Homme Américain,' vol. ii. p. 318. † 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii. p. 288.
fact,

fact, bring to our view what seem to be rudimentary forms of ideas which underlie dualistic theological schemes among higher nations. It is certain that even amongst rude savage hordes 'native thought has already turned toward the deep problem of good and evil.' He thus admits an essentially and distinctly ethical element into the theology of even 'genuine' savages. But our author has yet more decided views as to the universality of religious conceptions. Concerning the existence of savages without religion, he says* (speaking from his point of view as a supporter of the monistic hypothesis): 'Though the theoretical niche is ready and convenient, the actual statue to fill it is not forthcoming. The case is, in some degree, similar to that of the tribes asserted to exist without language or without the use of fire; nothing in the nature of things [?] seems to forbid the possibility of such existence, but, as a matter of fact, the tribes are not found.'

As we have said, the native Australians have much pretension to the post of lowest of existing races, and we often hear a great deal as to their non-religious condition; nevertheless Mr. Tylor quotes† the Rev. W. Ridley to the effect that 'whenever he has conversed with the Aborigines, he found them to have quite definite traditions concerning supernatural beings, as Baime, whose voice they hear in thunder and who made all things.' Moreover this testimony is reinforced by that of Stanbridge ('T. Eth. Soc.,' vol. i. p. 301), who is quoted as asserting that so far from the Australians having no religion, 'they declare that Jupiter, whom they call "foot of day" (Ginabong-Beary), was a chief among the old Spirits, that ancient race who were translated to heaven before man came on earth.' But not only do we thus meet with distinct conceptions of the supernatural where their existence has been denied, but some of the external manifestations of these conceptions are by no means to be despised. Thus in a prayer used by the Khonds of Orissa we find‡ the following words: 'We are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it us!' Mr. Tylor adds: 'Such are types of prayer in the *lower* levels of culture!'

But the universal tendency of even the most degraded tribes to practices which clearly show their belief in preternatural agencies is too notorious to admit of serious discussion, while the wide-spread, and probably all but universal, practice of some kind of funereal rites speaks plainly of as wide a notion that the dead

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 378.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 378.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 335.

in some sense yet live. As to the power possessed by even the lowest races of apprehending strictly religious conceptions, the annals of the Christian Propaganda prove it abundantly. The Australians, however, are generally believed to be the most hopeless subjects of missionary effort, and yet Western Australia* demonstrates the utter groundlessness of this persuasion. We may conclude, then, that no existing race is generally devoid of conceptions regarding the preternatural, or entirely unconcerned about future existence, whether their own or that of their friends or enemies.

It remains, then, to inquire whether any existing races may be fairly considered as in a transitional state from a non-religious condition, like that of beasts? or whether the religious conceptions of any race are so different *in kind* from our own as to render it impossible for them to be the degraded remnants of former religious belief of a higher character? As to the first of these questions, it may be observed that the difference between a nature capable of religious conceptions and one not so capable is a difference of *kind*, and therefore 'transitions' are just as possible or as impossible here, as in the previous matters of morality and speech. This is a question the decision of which, again, rests with philosophy. Nevertheless it may be here observed that obviously no combinations of merely sensible perceptions could give rise to the conception of beings of a preternatural nature and with preternatural powers. It is a question not of a vague fear, but of conceptions of beings with superhuman attributes. As to the second question—that concerning the nature of religious conceptions in the most distinct races—it may be safely affirmed, on our author's own authority, that the differences are often much more superficial and the agreements much more profound than is very often, if not generally, supposed. The extreme want of flexibility of so many minds is the cause of this difficulty of perceiving how often the same essential idea underlies different external modes of representation. The personifications of stars, rivers, clouds, &c., are, when viewed under a certain aspect, to some tribes not only the natural expression of their religious conceptions, but probably even the nearest approach to truth now possible to them apart from revelation. As to their conceptions Mr. Tylor remarks: † 'They rest upon a broad philosophy of nature, early and crude indeed, but thoughtful, consistent, and quite really and seriously meant.' As to the *crudity*

* See 'Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie,' par Mgr. Rudesino Salvado, 1854.

† 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 258.

of these modes of expressing a belief in the general action of superhuman causation, it may be remarked that after all the error was trifling compared with that of modern Materialists—*i.e.*, the modern crude conception that because the phenomena of nature are not produced by a human personality, they are produced by *none*! Mr. Tylor himself says,* as to the real resemblance between apparently very different religious developments, ‘Baime, the creator, whose voice the rude Australians hear in the rolling thunder, will sit enthroned by the side of *Olympian Zeus himself*.’

We have heard much as to the notion entertained by some barbarians† that a distinction of ranks extends into the next world, and that the future state depends upon the social condition of the departed. But similar notions may exist amongst civilised people, as was evidenced by the often-quoted French lady of the *ancien régime*, who exclaimed, on learning the death of a profligate noble, ‘God will think twice before he damns a man of the Marquis’s quality.’ Indeed it may be said that a belief in the continuance after death of the conditions of this life is at the present time spreading widely amongst thousands who accept the teachings of Spiritualism as a new gospel. But how often may not the highest signification lie hidden and latent under a term which is apparently but sensuous in its meaning? The loftiest terms in use amongst us even now, whether in Science, Religion, or Philosophy, are, when ultimately analysed, but sensuous symbols, such being the necessary materials of our whole language; but this by no means prevents our attaching to such subjects very different *ideas*. Who, when speaking of the spirit of Shakespeare, thinks of the pulmonary exhalation which that term primitively denoted. Mr. Tylor objects‡ to the expression ‘an offering made by fire of a sweet savour before the Lord,’ as being barbarous; but what words could have been used to express spiritual acceptability which would *not* have had a primarily sensuous meaning? •Yet granted that many races have no higher conceptions as to the preternatural than belief in demons, dread of witchcraft, and belief in ghosts, is that any reason why such races should not be descended from remote ancestors with a much higher creed? Such, indeed, does appear to be the belief of Sir John Lubbock, who says:§ ‘Religion appeals so strongly to the hopes and fears of men, it takes so deep a hold on most minds, in its higher forms it is so great a

* ‘Primitive Culture,’ vol. i. p. 248.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 350.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 78.

§ ‘The Origin of Civilisation,’ p. 331.

consolation

consolation in times of sorrow and sickness, that I can hardly think any nation would ever abandon it altogether.' Again, in reply to the Duke of Argyll, who had objected existing phenomena, Sir John observes : * ' If the Duke means to say that men who are highly civilised, habitually or frequently lose and scornfully disavow religion, I can only say that I should adopt such an opinion with difficulty and regret.' The latter of these passages takes away any weight which might attach to the former,† for it is difficult to believe that the passage last quoted can have been seriously meant by its author when we reflect that he must be acquainted with the views of Buchner, Vogt, and Strauss. It is one of the calamities of our time and country that unbelievers, instead of, as in France, honestly avowing their sentiments, disguise them by studious reticence—as Mr. Darwin disguised at first his views as to the bestiality of man, and as the late Mr. Mill silently allowed himself to be represented to the public as a believer in God. When we consider how energetically Atheism manifested itself recently in Paris, its passionate development in Spain with the vigorous atheistic declarations of its late Colonial Minister, when anyone at all acquainted with the Continent must know that it counts its enthusiastic disciples by tens of thousands, it is surely nothing less than solemn trifling † to speak of 'difficulty' in recognising patent facts.

We have, then, but to look about us to see how very easily such a corruption as that supposed might have taken place, even in nations as highly developed as our own. We have but to imagine the emigration of a few such families, and the extinction of religion in their progeny would be inevitable; and in order that a belief in ghosts and in evil spirits might coexist with such religious ignorance, we need but suppose some spiritualists to be amongst the emigrants in question.

But a difficulty is put forward as to the rite of sacrifice. This practice is represented as having originated in the gross notion of actually feeding the gods with flesh, or at least in the spirit of such flesh serving as food to the spiritual beings to whom it was offered, and not in the modern notion of sacrifice. Mr. Tylor

* 'The Origin of Civilisation,' p. 348.

† At p. 256 Sir John also says :—'If we consider the various aspects of Christianity as understood by different nations, we can hardly fail to perceive that the dignity, and therefore the truth, of their religious beliefs, is in direct relation to the knowledge of science and of the great physical laws by which our universe is governed.' Were this true, Vogt, Buchner, Darwin, and Strauss would exemplify the *highest* religious belief. But, in truth, what can be more preposterous than to assert or imply that physical science has to do with the *government* of the universe?

says : * ‘ The mere fact of sacrifice to deities, from the lowest to the highest levels of culture, consisting of the extent of nine-tenths or more of gifts of food for sacred banquets, tells forcibly against the originality of the abnegation theory.’ But we ask, Why so? If food in the earliest period was *the* thing to sacrifice which constituted the gréatest self-denial easily practised, then, on natural grounds only, we might conclude that such a practice would arise, and that the habit, being once formed, continued and became widely diffused. But elsewhere, indeed, he concedes a great deal, and admits † that ‘ we do not find it easy to analyse the impression which a gift makes on our own feelings, and to separate the actual value of the object from the sense of gratification in the giver’s good-will or respect, and thus we may well scruple to define closely how uncultured men work out this very same distinction in their dealings with their deities.’ This is excellent, and how distinctly a real and unmistakably expressed ethical conception really accompanies such practices in some tribes he himself shows us in another passage. In a Zulu prayer given by him, ‡ we find : ‘ If you ask food of me which *you have given me*, is it not *proper* that *I should give it to you* ? ’ As he truly says : § ‘ The Phœnicians sacrificed the dearest children to propitiate the angry gods,’ &c. But, in fact, early sacrifice contained, at the least, implicitly, potentially, vaguely, and in germ, all that which later became actually developed and distinctly expressed. It is not possible for Mr. Tylor, or for anyone else, to prove that it did *not* do so, and that it inevitably *must have done* so we may securely judge from the *outcome* which has since resulted.

We may fairly, then, conclude that there is no evidence of the existence of any race devoid of religious conceptions altogether, or possessing such conceptions so fundamentally different from those existing to-day, that it is impossible to regard them as instances of degradation. The *possibility* of such states is a question for philosophy, but their *actual* non-existence may be taken as established from the failure of all efforts to prove them, and from the admissions herein quoted. Before leaving the subject, we may cite an amusing parody of certain recent attempts to explain almost all early history and legend by myths of dawn and sunrise. Mr. Tylor says, || with respect to the ‘ Song of Sixpence : ’ — ‘ Obviously, the four-and-twenty blackbirds are the four-and-

* ‘ Primitive Culture,’ vol. ii. p. 360.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 357.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 361.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 333.

|| Ibid. vol. i. p. 287.

twenty hours, and the pie that holds them is the underlying earth covered with the overarching sky: how true a touch of nature it is, that when the pie is opened, that is, when day breaks, the birds begin to sing. The king is the sun, and his counting out his money is pouring out the sunshine, the golden shower of Danae. The queen is the moon, and her transparent honey the moonlight. The maid is the rosy-fingered dawn, who rises before the sun, her master, and hangs out the clouds, his clothes, across the sky. 'The particular blackbird who so tragically ends the tale by snipping off her nose, is the hour of sunrise.' Mr. Tylor similarly explains the life and death of Julius Cæsar.

IV. We may now proceed to our fourth inquiry, that concerning 'Progress,' or the question whether, on the whole, progress has prevailed among savage races, or whether they have not in the main degenerated? As to this matter, both our authors are strongly of opinion that no extensive or predominant retrogression has taken place. Nevertheless, certain facts stated by them, and certain opinions expressed, seem to indicate at least the possibility of a more extensive process of degeneration than they are inclined to allow. Social progress is an exceedingly complex phenomenon, the result of many factors; and even existing instances of partial retrogression, as in Spain, are palpable enough, while no one will probably contest the inferiority, in many respects, of the Greece of our day to that which listened to the voice of Aristotle or Plato.

Mr. Tylor contrasts very favourably with the late Mr. Buckle in his appreciation of this complexity, and in his perception of the importance of moral as well as of intellectual improvement, and of the absurdity of those who make sure that every revolutionary change must be an improvement. He says:—

'Even granting that intellectual, moral, and political life may, on a broad view, be seen to progress together, it is obvious that they are far from advancing with equal steps. It may be taken as a man's rule of duty in the world, that he shall strive to know as well as he can find out, and do as well as he knows how. But the parting asunder of these two great principles, that separation of intelligence from virtue which accounts for so much of the wrongdoing of mankind, is continually seen to happen in the great movements of civilisation. As one conspicuous instance of what all history stands to prove, if we study the early ages of Christianity, we may see men with minds pervaded by the new religion of duty, holiness, and love, yet at the same time actually falling away in intellectual life, thus at once vigorously grasping one-half of civilisation, and contemptuously casting off the other.'—*Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 25.

This aspect of the question has an important bearing upon our
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mode of regarding the earliest families of man. It is plain that a high moral standard might have existed with a most rudimentary state of art and the scantiest appliances of material civilisation. After speaking of Mr. Alfred Wallace and of Lieut. Bruijn Kops, Mr. Tylor says: 'Ethnographers who seek in modern savages types of the remotely ancient human race at large, are bound by such examples to consider the rude life of primæval man under favourable conditions to have been, in its measure, a good and happy life.'

It is difficult for us, surrounded by the abundant aids afforded by international communication, to realise the different effects which would probably result from an absence of such assistance and stimulus. This is perceived by Mr. Tylor, who remarks: * 'In striking a balance between the effects of forward and backward movements in civilisation, it must be borne in mind how powerfully the diffusion of culture acts in preserving the results of progress from the attacks of degeneration.' Therefore, at an early period, when there was little diffusion and no intercommunication between groups which had become isolated, degeneration might very easily have taken place, and these isolated groups may have become the parents of tribes now widely spread. Indeed, our author adds,—

'Degeneration probably operates even more actively in the lower than in the higher culture. Barbarous nations and savage hordes, with their less knowledge and scantier appliances, would seem peculiarly exposed to degrading influences.'

After giving an instance from West Africa, he continues:—

'In South-East Africa, also, a comparatively high barbaric culture, which we especially associate with the old descriptions of the kingdom of Monomotapa, seems to have fallen away, and the remarkable ruins of buildings of hewn stone fitted without mortar indicate a former civilisation above that of the native population.'

But actual degradation is a fact which is directly attested, and which the ruins of Central America demonstrate. Our author quotes Father Charlevoix to the effect that the Iroquois, having had their villages burnt,

'have not taken the trouble to restore them to their old condition. . . . The degradation of the Cheyenne Indians is matter of history, and "Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle came upon an outlying fragment of the Shushway race, without horses or dogs, sheltering themselves under rude temporary slants of bark or matting, falling year by year into lower misery." '—*Primitive Culture*, vol. i. pp. 41, 42.

* '*Primitive Culture*,' vol. i. p. 39.

Thus we may be *certain* that some savages have been degraded from a higher level, and this establishes an *à priori* probability that all have been so. Such degradation would not, however, be inconsistent with the existence of a considerable amount of progress in some places side by side with a wider degradation. The New Zealanders show evidence of a possible degradation through changed conditions, as they doubtless at one time inhabited a more favoured clime. 'They show* this by their use of the well-known Polynesian word 'niu' (cocoanut) for different kinds of divination, thus keeping 'up a trace of the time when their ancestors in the tropical islands had them and divined by them.'

How soon the use even of stone implements may be forgotten is proved by Erman in Kamskatka,† who got there a fluted prism of obsidian; 'but though one would have thought that the comparatively recent use of stone instruments in the country would have been still fresh in the memory of the people, the natives who dug it up had no idea what it was.' Again: 'The Fuegians‡ have for centuries used a higher method' of making fire than have the Patagonians. This looks very much like the *survival* of a higher culture as to this practice in the midst of a widespread degeneracy. Such an explanation is strengthened by the following remark§ about the Fuegians: 'This art of striking fire instead of laboriously producing it with the drill, is not, indeed, the only thing in which the culture of this race stands above that of their northern neighbours,' their canoes also being of superior quality. Mr. Tylor thinks that the South Australians may have learnt their art of making polished instruments of green jade from 'some Malay or Polynesian source,' instead of its having survived the wreck of a higher culture, as the fire-making art of the Fuegians has probably so done. But this is a mere possibility, and experience shows us how often such arts are *not* learnt even when we know for certain that the opportunity of learning them has been offered. Thus our author himself remarks,|| that the North Americans never learnt the art of metal work, &c. from the Europeans of the tenth century. That the belief in a persistence of social conditions after death, before referred to, may be a degradation, is shown by the spread of modern 'spiritualism,' which has widely propagated that belief amongst people whose ancestral creed taught a very different doctrine.

A curious proof of degradation of one or another kind is exemplified by the ceremonial purifications practised by the

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 73.

† 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 207.

‡ Ibid. pp. 245-6.

§ Ibid. p. 259.

|| Ibid. p. 205.

Kafirs. Respecting these Mr. Tylor remarks: * 'It is to be noticed that these ceremonial practices have come to mean something distinct from mere cleanliness. Kafirs who will purify themselves from ceremonial uncleanness by washing, are not in the habit of washing themselves or their vessels for ordinary purposes, and the dogs and the cockroaches divide between them the duty of cleaning out the milk-baskets.' Therefore here one of two things must be conceded. We have either a case of degradation and degeneration from earlier cleanliness, or else there must have been an original spiritual meaning in certain primitive washings pointing to a higher religious condition than that at present existing amongst those who practise the ceremonies in question. Again, the legend of the World Tortoise † may be but a degradation, and have meant, as Mr. Tylor suggests, to express the hemispherical Heavens overarching the flat expanded plain of Earth.

Sir John Lubbock presents to us data which, in fact, also speak of degradation in a more northern part of Africa, namely, amongst the Christians of Abyssinia. He quotes ‡ Bruce as saying that there is 'no such thing as marriage in Abyssinia, unless that which is contracted by mutual consent, without other form, subsisting only till dissolved by dissent of one or other, and to be renewed or repeated as often as it is agreeable to both parties, who, when they please, live together again as man and wife, after having been divorced, had children by others, or whether they have been married, or had children with others or not. I remember to have once been at Koscam in presence of the Itegehe (the Queen), when, in the circle, there was a woman of great quality, and seven men who had all been her husbands, none of whom was the happy spouse at that time.' § Sir John significantly couples with this quotation another to the effect that, for all this, 'there is no country in the world where there are so many churches.' || Now when Christianity was first accepted by these Christians their practice must have been very different, and, therefore, we have here an unquestionable case of Christian degeneracy parallel to, and carried further than, the analogous degeneracy of Portugal and its transatlantic offspring Brazil. It is curious, also, that in these cases, more or less religious *isolation* has been the prelude to degeneracy.

There is, then, much reason to think that degeneracy may have been both great in degree and wide-spread in its effects,

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii. p. 393.

† 'Reveries into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 333.

‡ 'The Origin of Civilisation,' p. 57.

§ Bruce's 'Travels,' vol. iv. p. 487.

|| Ibid. vol. v. p. 1.

so as to account by degradation for the existing state of all the various tribes of savages which discovery has made known to us. But the maintenance of this position is by no means necessary to justify the religious belief of even the most orthodox Christians. Orthodoxy does not by any means necessarily conflict with such views as those put forward by Messrs. Tylor and Lubbock. All traces now, or to be hereafter, discovered of ancient man, may indicate *ascent* and progress, and all existing savages may be *ascending* from still lower levels, and yet the first man may, notwithstanding, have been all that theology asserts that he was. Nay more, his progeny may none the less have preserved for a considerable period a high degree of direct, simple, moral elevation in an age of stone, and yet have been the ancestors of races who fell below the level of any savages now existing on the earth. In theology Adam stands in a category of his own. According to it he was actually all that it became him as man to be, having the full and perfect use of reason in the first moment of his existence. But it is impossible to argue from Adam even to his immediate descendants, as the difference between their states is a difference not of degree but of kind. According to the strictest theology, part even of Adam's knowledge was acquired, not infused, and, therefore, took time and depended upon the occurrence of opportunities. His descendants were naturally in a state of mere ignorance, to be removed only by education either by way of what is technically called *disciplina* or else by *inventio*. Now as regards their degenerate descendants, the *Homines sylvatici*, these were, by the hypothesis, in a position which deprived them of the first of these influences, and circumstances might well have rendered their power of *inventio* inoperative and practically futile. Thus some might have remained stationary, or have continued to retrograde till discovered by civilised man, while others more favourably circumstanced might have again spontaneously advanced by their own *inventio* and been found by discoverers in a positively ascending and improving condition. Nothing, therefore, which ethnology or archæology can demonstrate can conflict with Christian doctrine, since the question as to the mental condition of Adam is one utterly beyond the reach of any physical science, while any facts which science can prove concerning *Homo sylvaticus* will be welcomed by theologians as tending to throw light upon the condition of his descendants, as to which question there is complete freedom of opinion.

It is physical science, not theology, which inclines us to assign a greater scope to degeneration than that assigned to it by the authors we are reviewing. As has been said, instances
of

of degeneration are before our eyes to-day in Europe. Even the periodical literature of our own country is continually giving vent to opinions which have but to spread predominantly to render our degradation certain.

One of the greatest achievements of the last two thousand years has been the successful promulgation of the doctrine that *purity of intention*, and not success, is that which is really deserving of esteem. Yet the essentially cruel heartlessness of Paganism is having its intellectual justification prepared for it in the midst of our beneficent, humanitarian activities. To show this the more clearly we may quote the words of one who, in so many ways, contrasts favourably with other members of that school of thought which he has not as yet explicitly repudiated. The exigencies of his present philosophical position have betrayed even Mr. Herbert Spencer into speaking* of the 'Worthy' and the 'Unworthy' as synonymous with the 'well-' and the 'ill-to-do,' and he does not guard himself from being understood to call the poor and the unsuccessful, as such, by the opprobrious epithet 'good-for-nothings.'† Another triumph of the same Christian period has been the establishment of at least a pure theory of the sexual relations and the protection of the weaker sex against the selfishness of male concupiscence. Now, however, marriage is the constant subject of attack, and unrestrained licentiousness *theoretically* justified. Mr. George Darwin proposes‡ that divorce should be made consequent on insanity, and coolly remarks that, should the patient recover, he would suffer in no other respect than does *anyone* that is forced by ill-health to *retire from any career he has begun* [!]; 'although, of course, the necessary isolation of the parent from the children *would be a peculiarly bitter blow.*' Elsewhere§ he speaks in an approving strain of the most oppressive laws, and of the encouragement of vice in order to check population. There is no hideous sexual criminality of Pagan days that might not be defended on the principles advocated by the school to which this writer belongs. This repulsive phenomenon affords a fresh demonstration of what France of the Regency and Pagan Rome long ago demonstrated; namely, how easily the most profound moral corruption can co-exist with the most varied appliances of a complex civilisation. The peasants of the Tyrol, on the other hand, serve equally well to demonstrate how pure and lofty a morality and how really refined a mental civilisation may co-exist with very great simplicity in the adjuncts and

* 'Contemporary Review,' August 1873, p. 343.

† Ibid. p. 339.

‡ Ibid. p. 418, 'On Beneficial Restrictions to Liberty of Marriage.'

§ Ibid. pp. 424-5.

instruments of social life. We have but to develop this idea somewhat further to see a family of the Stone age, clothed in a few skins, ignorant of the sciences, and innocent of all but the rudest art, yet possessed of a moral integrity but very exceptionally present amidst the population of the greatest cities of modern days. Mr. Tylor tells* us that the wild Veddahs of Ceylon, though extremely barbarous as to their dwellings, clothing, and use of the fire-drill, 'are most truthful and honest,' and 'their monogamy and conjugal fidelity contrast strongly with the opposite habits of the more civilised Singhalese.' Sir John Lubbock has collected the following particulars as to the social state of the Esquimaux, a people so peculiarly interesting to us in this inquiry because by some deemed to be the last survivors of an ancient miocene race:—

'Captain Parry gives us the following pictures of an Esquimaux hut. "In the few opportunities we had of putting their hospitality to the test we had every reason to be pleased with them. Both as to food and accommodation, the best they had were always at our service; and their attention, both in kind and degree, was everything that hospitality and even good breeding could dictate. The kindly offices of drying and mending our clothes, cooking our provisions, and thawing snow for our drink, were performed by the women with an obliging cheerfulness which we shall not easily forget, and which demanded its due share of our admiration and esteem. While thus their guest I have passed an evening not only with comfort, but with extreme gratification; for with the women working and singing, their husbands quietly mending their lines, the children playing before the door and the pot boiling over the blaze of a cheerful lamp, one might well forget for the time that an Esquimaux hut was the scene of this domestic comfort and tranquillity; and I can safely affirm, with Cartwright, that, while thus lodged beneath their roof, I know no people whom I would more confidently trust, as respects either my person or my property, than the Esquimaux." Dr. Rae,† who had ample means of judging, tells us that the Eastern Esquimaux are sober, steady, and faithful, . . . provident of their own property and careful of that of others when under their charge. . . . Socially they are lively, cheerful, and chatty people, fond of associating with each other and with strangers, with whom they soon become on friendly terms, if kindly treated. . . . In their domestic relations they are exemplary. The man is an obedient son, a good husband, and a kind father. . . . The children when young are docile. . . . The girls have their dolls, in making dresses and shoes for which they amuse and employ themselves. The boys have miniature bows, arrows, and spears. . . . When grown up they are dutiful to their parents. . . . Orphan children are readily adopted and well cared for until they are able to provide

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 45.

† 'Trans. Eth. Soc. 1866,' p. 138.

for themselves. Ho concludes by saying: "The more I saw of the Esquimaux the higher was the opinion I formed of them."—*The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 343.

V. The quotations just given bring us directly to the explicit consideration of our fifth inquiry, the answer to which has been already so much anticipated—that, namely, respecting the existence of a community of nature amongst all the most diverse races of mankind. Here again we must carefully bear in mind the inaccuracy and the tendency to exaggeration so common with travellers, as well as their liability to be intentionally deceived. Thus Mr. Oldfield showed to some New Hollanders a drawing of one of their own people, which they asserted to be intended to represent not a man but a ship or a kangaroo, or other very different object. As to this story Sir John Lubbock shrewdly remarks* : 'It is not, however, quite clear to me that they were not poking fun at Mr. Oldfield.' A similar explanation is probably available in some other cases also. The absence of certain arts or customs in a given area at a given early period, by no means necessarily implies that they had not previously existed. The necessity of this caution is shown by the following remark † of Sir John Lubbock concerning the pictorial art : 'It is somewhat remarkable that while even in the Stone period we find very fair drawings of animals, yet in the latest part of the Stone age, and throughout that of Bronze, they are almost entirely wanting, and the ornamentation is confined to various combinations of straight and curved lines and geometrical patterns.' In the two preceding pages the same author relates to us different curious modes of salutation ; but all such curious customs prove the essential similarity and rationality of man, and form no approximation to a brutal condition, in which 'salutation' is unknown. Sir John Lubbock gives ‡ the following as an instance of remarkable superstition : 'The natives near Sydney made it an invariable rule never to whistle when beneath a particular cliff, because on one occasion a rock fell from it and crushed some natives who were whistling underneath it.' It is not clear, however, that this was not rather a case of prudence, which many Europeans would be inclined to imitate. Sir John Lubbock also quotes with approval from Mr. Sproat the opinion that the difference between the savage and the cultivated mind is merely between the more or less aroused condition of the one and the same mind. The quotation is made § in reference to the Ahts of North-Western America : 'The native mind, to an educated man, seems generally

* 'Prehistoric Times,' p. 428.

† Ibid. p. 188.

‡ 'The Origin of Civilisation,' p. 25.

§ Ibid. p. 5.

to be asleep; and, if you suddenly ask a novel question, you have to repeat it while the mind of the savage is awakening, and to speak with emphasis until he has quite got your meaning.'

The low arithmetical power possessed by many tribes has been much spoken of; but, in fact, what is really remarkable is, that this power, however low, really exists in all. If any tribe could be found without the conception 'number' at all, and therefore unable to count two, that would indeed show the existence of an essential diversity; but no one has attempted to assert that such a tribe has been discovered. Those who have examined the remains of our own ancestors of the Bronze period—their elaborate ornaments, their ceremonial weapons—can hardly have avoided arriving at the conclusion that the difference between them and the Englishmen of to-day can have been but trifling in the extreme. An absurdly exaggerated idea of the special importance of our own social condition and of the value of the merely material appliances of civilisation can alone induce an opposite conclusion. It is an analogous superficiality which also tends to break down the barrier between man and brute by what Mr. Herbert Spencer calls 'inverted anthropomorphism;' and with respect to which some good remarks* are made by Mr. Tylor, who tells us:—

'Uncivilised man deliberately assigns to apes an amount of human quality which to modern naturalists is simply ridiculous. Everyone has heard the story of the negroes declaring that apes can speak, but judiciously hold their tongues lest they should be made to work; but it is not generally known that this is found as serious matter of belief in several distant regions—West Africa, Madagascar, South America, &c.—where monkeys or apes are found. . . . On the other hand, popular opinion has under-estimated the man as much as it has over-estimated the monkey. We know how sailors and emigrants can look on savages as senseless, ape-like brutes, and how some writers on anthropology have contrived to make out of the moderate intellectual difference between an Englishman and a negro something equivalent to the immense interval between a negro and a gorilla. Thus we can have no difficulty in understanding how savages may seem more apes to the eyes of men who hunt them like wild beasts in the forests, who can only hear in their language a sort of irrational gurgling and barking, and who fail totally to appreciate the real culture which better acquaintance always shows among the rudest tribes of man.'

Again, he adds †:—

'The sense of an absolute psychical distinction between man and beast, so prevalent in the civilised world, is hardly to be found among the lower races.'

* 'Primitive Culture,' pp. 342-3.

† Op. cit. vol. i. p. 423.

Thus.

Thus the view, so popular to-day, as to the community of nature between man and brutes, is really a reversion towards savage thought. As to man, considered without reference to lower animals, Mr. Tylor declares himself very decidedly in favour of the substantial community of nature existing in the most divergent human races. He pronounces* as follows: 'The state of things amongst the lower tribes which presents itself to the student, is a *substantial similarity* in knowledge, arts and customs, running through the whole world. Not that the whole culture of all tribes is alike—far from it; but if any art or custom belonging to a low tribe is selected at random, it is twenty to one that something substantially like it may be found in at least one place thousands of miles off, though it very frequently happens that there are large portions of the earth's surface lying between, where it has not been observed. Indeed there are few things in cookery, clothing, arms, vessels, boots, ornaments, found in one place, that cannot be matched more or less nearly somewhere else.' Respecting the alleged ignorance of fire in some races, he observes:† 'It is likely that the American explorers may have misinterpreted the surprise of the natives at seeing cigars smoked, and fire produced from flint and steel, as well as the eating of raw fish and the absence of signs of cooking in the dwellings.' Wilkes, in the 'Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition' (1838-42), has given 'ignorance of fire' as an interpretation of such observed phenomena, and yet, as Mr. Tylor remarks, 'curiously enough, within the very work particulars are given which show that *fire* was in reality a *familiar thing in the island!*' It is probable that the same error has occurred in other instances.

Our author even thinks‡ that the Fijians have themselves *invented* an eating fork, and he reminds us§ how our practices of stopping teeth with gold and dressing fish *en papillotte* have been anticipated by the ancient Egyptians on the one hand, and by the Australians (by means of bark) on the other.

But it would be difficult to cite stronger testimony than that given by Mr. Tylor to the community of nature in different races under the most diverse physical conditions, judging from unity of products, gesture, language, customs, &c., although 'we might reasonably expect that men of like minds, when placed under widely different circumstances of country, climate, vegetable and animal life, and so forth, should develope very various phenomena of civilisation.' ||

* 'Resarches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 169. † Op. cit. p. 231.

‡ Op. cit. p. 175.

§ Op. cit. p. 173.

|| Op. cit. p. 362.

Although

Although Mr. Tylor ventures * 'to judge in a rough way of an early condition of man, which from our [his] point of view is to be regarded as a primitive condition, whatever yet earlier state may in reality have lain behind it,' he fully admits that, as far as research carries us, the same human characteristics come again and again before us on every hand. He concludes with the following emphatic tribute to the essential unity of man in all ages, all climes, and all conditions:†—

'The historian and the ethnographer must be called upon to show the hereditary standing of each opinion and practice, and their inquiry must go back as far as antiquity or savagery can show a vestige, for there seems no human thought so primitive as to have lost its bearing on our own thought, nor so ancient as to have broken its connection with our own life.'

With these declarations we may well rest contented, and conclude—from the absence of opposing evidence, as well as from such admissions on the part of a witness whose bias is in an opposite direction—that one common fundamental human nature is present in all the tribes and races of men (however contrasted in external appearance) which are scattered over the whole surface of the habitable globe.

VI. We are now in a position to draw our conclusions from the foregoing data, and state the results which the teachings of Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock seem to force upon us. The works referred to and quoted have been, as we said, selected for review because their authors are not only most justly esteemed for their information and capability, not only because they are representative men in ethnology and archæology, but also because their bias is *favourable* to the monistic view of evolution, and their evidences, and admissions made by them which tell against that view, can be more safely relied on. We have considered facts brought forward by one or other of them, and judgments expressed on those facts with regard to speech, morality, religion, progress, and community of nature in the most diverse tribes of mankind, with a view to discovering (1) whether any evidence can be adduced of man's existence in a brutal or irrational condition; (2) whether the evidence points in the direction of such a condition in the past; and (3) whether any men now exist less remote from beasts than from the highest individuals of mankind? We have found, as regards *Language*, not only an essential agreement amongst all men, but that even the merely dumb prove by their gestures that they are possessed of the really important part of the faculty (the *verbum mentale*), though acci-

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 19.

† Op. cit. vol. i. p. 409.

dentially

mentally deprived of the power of giving it verbal expression (the *verbum oris*). As to *Morals*, we have found that not only are all races possessed of moral perception, but even that their fundamental moral principles are not in contradiction with our own.

Concerning *Religion*, we have seen that religious conceptions appear to exist universally amongst all races of mankind, though often curiously aborted or distorted, and often tending to extreme degradation after periods during which a higher level had been maintained. Respecting *Community of Nature*, we have been able to quote from Mr. Tylor assertions of the most unequivocal character. Finally, as to *Progress*, we have found cause to believe that '*Retrogression*' may have been much greater and more extensive than our authors are disposed to admit; but that however that may be, and even if their views on this subject are correct, as to existing races, such views, if established, would not constitute one iota of proof that the Christian doctrines as to man, his origin and nature, are erroneous.

From the absence of any positive proof as to a brutal condition of mankind, and from the absence of even any transitional stage, a presumption, at the least, arises that no such transition ever took place. This absence, also (there being at the same time so much positive evidence of essential community of nature amongst all men), clearly throws the *onus probandi* on those who assert the fact of such transition in the past. At the least they must betake themselves to philosophy, which is alone able to decide as to the abstract possibility or impossibility of such a process, and show by it that the asserted transition is not only possible but also probable; and both demonstrations, we are confident, are beyond their power.

It seems, then, that in the sciences we are considering, namely, ethnology and archæology, the most recent researches of the most trustworthy investigators show that the expectations of the supporters of the dualistic hypothesis are fulfilled, while those of the favourers of the monistic view are disappointed.

The final result therefore is that ethnology and archæology, though incapable of deciding as to the possibility of applying the monistic view of evolution to man, yet, as far as they go, *oppose* that application. Thus the study of man past and present, by the last-mentioned sciences, when used as a test of the adequacy of the THEORY OF EVOLUTION, tends to show (though the ultimate decision, of course, rests with philosophy) that it is inadequate, and that another factor must be introduced of which it declines to take any account—the action, namely, of a DIVINE MIND as the direct and immediate originator and cause of the existence of its created image, the mind of man.

Such

Such being the result of the inquiry we have undertaken, the assertors of man's dignity are clearly under no slight obligations to Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor for their patient, candid, and laborious toil. But if such is the case with regard to these writers, how much greater must be the obligation due to that author who has so profoundly influenced them, and whose suggestive writings have produced so great an effect on nineteenth-century Biology.

A deep debt of gratitude will indeed be one day due to Mr. Darwin—one difficult to over-estimate. This sentiment, however, will be mainly due to him for the indirect result of his labours. It will be due to him for his having, in fact, become the occasion of the *reductio ad absurdum* of that system which he set out to maintain—namely, the origin of man by natural selection, and the sufficiency of mechanical causes to account for the harmony, variety, beauty, and sweetness of that teeming world of life, of which man is the actual and, we believe, ordained observer, historian, and master.

But the study of savage life has taught us much.

Our poor obscurely thinking, roughly speaking, childish acting, impulsive cousin of the wilds, the *Homo sylvaticus*, is not a useless tenant of his woods and plains, his rocks and rivers. His humble testimony is of the highest value in supporting the claims of his most civilised brothers to a higher than a merely brutal origin.

The religion of Abraham and Chrysostom, the intellect of Aristotle and Newton, the art of Raphael, of Shakespeare, of Mozart, have their claims to be no mere bestial developments, supported by that testimony. Through it these faculties are plainly seen to be different *in kind* from complex entanglements of merely animal instincts, and sensible impressions. The claims of man as we know him at his noblest, to be of a fundamentally different nature from the beasts which perish, become reinforced and reinvigorated in our eyes, when we find the very same moral, intellectual, and artistic nature (though disguised, obscured, and often profoundly misunderstood) present even in the rude, uncultured soul of the lowest of our race, the poor savage—*Homo sylvaticus*.

ART. III.—*The Book of Carloverock*. 2 vols., large quarto. Edinburgh, 1873 (not published).

COLLECTIONS of family papers have of late years much increased in both size and numbers. Even where no one of the name has risen to historical importance there are chests full

full of documents and letters that are lavishly poured forth. At present it not unfrequently happens that the records of a single not always very eminent house take up as many printed pages as would have been deemed sufficient thirty years ago to instruct a young student in the whole history of England or almost of Europe.

We are far, however, from complaining of this abundance. Even when a man was not himself distinguished, he may have had companionship or common action with those who were. By such means a thousand little traits of character may come unexpectedly to light. Still oftener there may, nay, there must, be reference to the domestic economies, the modes of living and the manners and customs of past times. Thus, when family papers are selected with care and edited with judgment—as was eminently the case, for example, with the ‘Caldwell Collection,’ comprised in three quarto volumes, and printed for the Maitland Club in 1854—they scarcely ever fail to yield fruit of price to the historian.

In the collection now before us are contained the records of the Maxwell family, belonging to Lord Herries, the present head of that ancient house, and confided by him to Mr. William Fraser for arrangement and annotation. The result has been a truly splendid work. These are two quarto volumes of the largest size, almost, indeed, rising to the dignity—as they certainly exceed the usual weight—of folios. The one volume is of 604 pages, the other of 590 :—

‘Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.’

No expense, we may add, has been spared in the beautiful types, in the facsimiles of ancient autographs, and the engravings of family portraits or family seats. The book is not for sale ; and the impression, we observe, has been limited to 150 copies, so that we should consider it beyond our sphere, and printed only for private circulation, had not Lord Herries made it *publici juris* by presenting a copy in July last year to the Library of the British Museum.

Mr. Fraser, as editor of this collection, seems to us to have done his part with—we may say at least—perspicuity and candour. We have only to complain that, in the first half, at all events, of the eighteenth century, to which in these volumes our attention has been exclusively directed, he has made himself but very slightly acquainted with the other writers of the time. From this cause, as we conceive, he has left in obscurity some points which a wider reading would have enabled him to clear. To
give

give only one instance—for we should take no pleasure in any long list of minute omissions—Mr. Fraser, in Lady Traquair's letter of January 1724, has failed to see, or certainly, at least, has failed to explain, that the 'Sir John' therein mentioned was one of the cant names for the Chevalier de St. George, or the Pretender, as we used to call him. Nor has he observed that the document there discussed is a letter of that Prince, dated August 20, 1723, and printed by Mr. Fraser in one of his preceding pages.

Of the many personages who in these volumes are presented to us, there is only one that we shall here produce. We desire to give our readers some account of that lady who saved her husband's life from the extremest peril, by the rare combination of high courage and inventive skill, a determined constancy of purpose, and a prompt versatility of means.

Lady Winifred Herbert was the fifth and youngest daughter of the Marquis of Powis; himself descended from the second son of the first Herbert Earl of Pembroke. The exact year of her birth is nowhere to be found recorded. The Marquis, her father, was a zealous Roman Catholic, and, as may be supposed, a warm adherent of James the Second. He followed that Prince in his exile, held the post of Lord Chamberlain in his melancholy Court, and received from him further the patent of Duke, which was never acknowledged in England. He died in 1697, but his wife and daughter continued to reside at St. Germain's under the protection of the Queen, Mary of Modena.

William fifth Earl of Nithsdale had been left a minor by his father's untimely death, but was brought up by his surviving parent in the same principles of devoted attachment to the house of Stuart and to the Church of Rome. On attaining his majority he repaired to St. Germain's, and did homage to the Prince, whom he continued to regard as his rightful King. A more tender motive arose to detain him. He fell in love with Lady Winifred Herbert, who proved no inexorable beauty. They were married in the spring of 1699, and he bore away his bride to his house and fair gardens of Terregles. Since her noble exploit in the Tower these gardens have been examined with interest for any trace of the departed heroine. But, as Mr. Fraser informs us, they have been greatly changed since her time. Only 'some old beech hedges and a broad green terrace still remain much the same as then.'

We may take occasion to observe of the new-married pair that there was some diversity in the spelling of their name. English writers have most commonly inserted an *i*, and made it Nithsdale; but the Earl and Countess themselves signed Nithsdail.

The

The Countess bore her lord five children, three of whom, however, died in early childhood. At the insurrection of 1715 they had but two surviving,—a son, William Lord Maxwell, and an infant daughter, Lady Anne. And here in ordinary course might close the record of her life, but for the shining events of 1715, which called forth her energies both to act and to endure.

It need scarcely be related even to the least literary of our readers how, in 1715, the standard of the Chevalier—‘James the Third,’ as his adherents called him—was raised, by Lord Mar in the Highlands and by Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater in Northumberland. Lord Kenmure gave the like example to the Scottish Peers of the southern counties, setting out to join Forster with a small band of retainers. Considering the principles of Lord Nithsdale in Church and State, his course could not be doubtful. He, too, at the head of a few horsemen, appeared in Forster’s camp, and shared the subsequent fortunes of that little army. To Lord Kenmure, who was a Protestant, was assigned the chief command of the Scottish levies. But, as Mr. Fraser tells us, ‘the Earl of Nithsdale, from his position, and from the devotion of his family to the House of Stuart, would have been placed at the head of the insurrection in the north of Scotland had he not been a Roman Catholic.’ But though Mr. Fraser has printed ‘north,’ he, beyond all doubt, means ‘south.’ There was never any question as to either Kenmure’s or Nithsdale’s command beyond the Forth.

We need not relate in any detail the well-known fate of these hasty levies. They found themselves encompassed at Preston by a regular force under General Wills, and were compelled to surrender without obtaining any better terms than the promise to await the orders of the Government and protect them from any immediate slaughter by the soldiery. It was only a short respite that most of the chiefs then obtained. They were at once sent off as prisoners to London. The painful circumstances of their entry are described as follows in the journal of Lady Cowper, the wife of the Lord Chancellor:—

‘*December 5, 1715.*—This week the prisoners were brought to town from Preston. They came in with their arms tied, and their horses, whose bridles were taken off, led each by a soldier. The mob insulted them terribly, carrying a warming-pan before them, and saying a thousand barbarous things, which some of the prisoners returned with spirit. The chief of my father’s family was amongst them. He is above seventy years old. A desperate fortune had drove him from home, in hopes to have repaired it. I did not see them come into town, nor let any of my children do so. I thought it would be an insulting of the relatives I had here, though almost everybody went to see them.’

The

The captive Peers being thus brought to London were sent for safe custody to the Tower, while preparations for their trial by the House of Lords were making in Westminster Hall. Here again we may borrow from Lady Cowper's journal:—

'*February 9, 1716.*—The day of the trials. My Lord was named High Steward by the King, to his vexation and mine; but it could not be helped, and so we must submit, though we both heartily wished it had been Lord Nottingham. . . . I was told it was customary to make fine liveries upon this occasion, but I had them all plain. I think it very wrong to make a parade upon so dismal an occasion as that of putting to death one's fellow-creatures, nor could I go to the trial to see them receive their sentences, having a relation among them—Lord Widdrington. The Prince was there, and came home much touched with compassion. What a pity it is that such cruelties should be necessary!'

But were they necessary? Certainly not, according to the temper of present times; while in 1716, on the contrary, far from exceeding, they seem rather to have fallen short of the popular expectation and demands.

The trials were quickly despatched. None of the prisoners could deny that they had risen in arms against the King. It only remained for them to plead 'Guilty,' and throw themselves on the Royal mercy. They were condemned to death as traitors; and the execution of Lord Nithsdale, with that of others, was appointed to take place upon Tower Hill on Wednesday the 24th of the month.

While Forster's insurrection lasted Lady Nithsdale remained with her children at Terregles. But on learning her Lord's surrender and his imprisonment in London, she resolved at once to join him. Leaving her infant daughter in the charge of her sister-in-law, the Countess of Traquair, and burying the family papers in a nook of the gardens, she set out, attended only by her faithful maid, who had been with her ever since her marriage, a Welshwoman, Cecilia Evans by name. A journey from Scotland in mid-winter was then no such easy task. She made her way on horseback across the Border, and then from Newcastle to York. There she found a place in the coach for herself alone, and was forced to hire a horse for Evans. Nor did her troubles end there, as she writes from Stamford, on Christmas Day, to Lady Traquair,—

'The ill-weather, ways, and other accidents, has made the coach not get further than Grentum (Grantham); and the snow is so deep it is impossible it should stir without some change of weather; upon which I have again hired horses, and shall go the rest of the journey on horseback to London, though the snow is so deep that our horses

yesterday were in several places almost buried in it. Tomorrow I shall set forward again. I must confess such a journey, I believe, was scarce ever made, considering the weather, by a woman. But an earnest desire compasses a great deal with God's help. If I meet my dear Lord well, and am so happy as to be able to serve him, I shall think all my trouble well repaid.'

The writer adds: 'I think myself most fortunate in having complied with your kind desire of leaving my little girl with you. Had I her with me, she would have been in her grave by this time, with the excessive cold.' It was indeed a season of most unusual rigour. The Thames was fast bound in ice, and many wayfarers throughout England were, it is said, found frozen to death.

The Countess reached London in safety, but, on her arrival, was thrown by the hardships of the journey into 'a violent sickness,' which confined her for some days to her bed. All this time she was anxiously pleading for admittance to her Lord in the Tower, which at last, though with some difficulty and under some restrictions, she obtained. As she writes: 'Now and then by favour I get a sight of him.' There are some hurried notes from her at this period to Lady Traquair. But her proceedings are far more fully to be traced in a letter which some years afterwards she addressed to her sister, Lady Lucy Herbert, the Abbess of an English Convent at Bruges. It thus commences: 'Dear sister, my Lord's escape is such an old story now, that I have almost forgot it; but since you desire the account, to whom I have too many obligations to refuse it, I will endeavour to call it to mind, and be as exact in the relation as I can possible.' And so the narrative proceeds.

This most interesting letter had remained unknown for many years. It was not till 1792 that it was published by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in the first volume of their 'Transactions.' But it came from a faulty, or, rather we may call it, a *touched-up* copy, putting 'the King,' for example, where Lady Nithsdale had written 'the Elector,' and often interspersing the phrase 'His Majesty,' which she would never have applied to George the First. In the same spirit a few trifling inaccuracies of grammar and language are corrected.

Sometimes, also, it might be desired to soften some roughness of tone. Thus, for example, the published letter makes the Countess say, in reference to the joint petition which it was intended to lay before the House of Lords, 'We were, however, disappointed, for the Duke of St. Albans, who had promised my Lady Derwentwater to present it, failed in his word.' But what Lady Nithsdale really wrote was this: 'Being disappointed
because

because the Duke of —, I forget which of the bastard Dukes.'

In all these cases the motive of the finishing touches seems perfectly clear. But there are some other changes that really seem made only for the love of change. Is the phrase, as Lady Nithsdale wrote, 'I took the resolution to endeavour his escape,' improved by making it, 'I formed the resolution to attempt his escape'? Or, again, when the Countess describes how, when at St. James's Palace, she presented the separate petition to George the First, he turned from her while she clung to the skirts of his coat, and in that manner was dragged along the passage on her knees until she fell back fainting, and the petition dropped to the ground in the 'struggle'—Lady Nithsdale calls it—then why alter it to 'scuffle'?

The original, meanwhile, in Lady Nithsdale's own handwriting, was still preserved at Bruges. It was brought from thence so recently as 1828, as a present from the English nuns, and is now among Lord Herries's papers. As Mr. Fraser informs us, it consists of eleven closely-written pages of paper quarto size. At the foot of the last leaf a small piece has been cut out, which is thought to have contained the signature of the writer, and to have been abstracted by some one of the autograph-collectors—an evil-minded race, alas! to whom, in many cases, the eighth commandment appears to be quite unknown.

This letter is not dated. The omission might seem to be sufficiently supplied by a copy in the library at Terregles, which, as Mr. Fraser assures us, is 'finely bound in morocco,' and which bears the date 'Royal Palais de Rome, April 16, 1718.' This date is accordingly accepted by Mr. Fraser. We must confess, however, that we see very strong objections to it, which, though derived from Mr. Fraser's volumes, have not, it appears, occurred to Mr. Fraser himself.

In the first place, although Lord Nithsdale was at Rome in April 1718; Lady Nithsdale certainly was not. This may be shown beyond dispute from the correspondence now before us. In 1717 Lady Nithsdale had gone to a place she calls 'Flesh,' that is, La Flèche, in Anjou. There she received a visit from her nephew, Lord Linton, eldest son of the Earl of Traquair. We find her writing to her sister-in-law on the 1st of September, 1717, 'I hope you have heard something from my nephew L., who came to take his leave of me on Friday last, to begin his journey into Italie, and was to leave Angiers yesterday in order to it.' On the 1st of January, 1718, we find her writing again: 'My husband was very well the last letter I had from him. . . . I hope very soon to hear of your son's being happily arrived at
his

his journey's end.' And on the 1st of May following: 'In one of the 10th of March from my husband, he expected his nephew the next day.' On the 22nd of June Lord Linton writes himself from Rome as follows: 'I am glad to hear that the good lady I saw at La Flèche is well, though I have not as yet received any letter from her; yet I did not fail to deliver the commission she gave me for her husband.' It is quite clear from these extracts that Lady Nithsdale was not in the Eternal City during any part of the period mentioned; and that the date of 'Rome, April 16, 1718,' assigned to her letter is entirely erroneous.

There is another circumstance which leads us to think that the real date was several years later. Lady Nithsdale mentions in this letter—as we shall presently see—a servant of the name of Mitchell, who followed Lord Nithsdale abroad, and who, she adds, 'is now very well placed with our young Master.' The allusion is, of course, to the exiled Royal Family. But 'the Chevalier de St. George,' or, as we used to call him, 'the Old Pretender,' was in 1718 about thirty years of age. He had no especial claim to this distinguishing epithet as 'our young Master;' and is constantly mentioned in this correspondence as 'our Master,' without any epithet at all. It is probable, therefore, that the allusion is rather to his son Charles Edward, who was born in December 1720, and who from his early boyhood appears, according to the custom of princes, to have had a small household assigned him. It may also perhaps be thought that a longer interval would better accord with that failure of recollection on some points, which in her opening sentence Lady Nithsdale mentions.

Passing from this point of chronology, in which we cannot help thinking that the editor might have shown a little more critical care, we have further to complain of a slight injustice that he does to, we admit, not a very great historian. In one of his notes to the first volume, he remarks: 'It is certainly necessary here to notice that Smollett was so ignorant of this fact, that, in his "History of England," he says that the Earl of Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished or conveyed to him by his own mother.' No doubt that Smollett did commit the error here described. But if Mr. Fraser had been more widely conversant with the other writers of that or the next ensuing period, he would have known that such was then the common impression or belief. As the agent in Lord Nithsdale's escape, his wife is not mentioned, but his mother instead, by Boyer, John Wesley, and, above all, Tindall in his valuable 'History of England.' So far as we can see, it was not till the publication of Lady Nithsdale's own narrative that the true facts
of

of the transaction were established. It seems a little hard, therefore, to single out Smollett for especial blame, when he did no more than repeat the current and accepted story of his time.

Full of interest as is Lady Nithsdale's letter, we do not propose to give any further extracts from it in this place, since it has several times already, though with verbal variations, appeared in print. It may be found, for instance, in the Appendix to the second volume of Lord Mahon's '*History of England*.' Moreover, it is a little confused in its arrangement. Thus the delivery of her petition to the King, which should stand first of the events in order of time, stands by retrospect the last in her relation. But we will endeavour, with Mr. Fraser's aid, to deduce from it a narrative of her Lord's escape which shall be more concise and equally clear.

Lord Nithsdale was confined in the house of Colonel D'Oyly, Lieutenant Deputy of the Tower, in a small room which looked out on Water Lane, the ramparts, and the wharf, and was 60 feet from the ground. The way from the room was through the Council Chamber and the passages and stairs of Colonel D'Oyly's house. The door of his room was guarded by one sentinel, that floor by two, the passages and stairs by several, and the outer gate by two. Escape under such circumstances seemed to be impossible, and, as Lady Nithsdale notes, it was one of her main difficulties, when the moment came, to persuade her Lord to acquiesce in an attempt which, as he believed, would end in nothing but ignominious failure.

The Countess still placed some reliance on the proceedings that impended in the House of Lords. There on the 22nd of February, only two days before that fixed for the execution, a petition was presented, praying the House to intercede with the King in favour of the Peers under sentence of death. Lady Nithsdale herself stood in the lobby, with many other ladies of rank, imploring the compassion of each Peer as he passed. A motion to the same effect as the petition was made in the House, and, notwithstanding the resistance of the Government, it was carried through the unexpected aid of Lord Nottingham and by a majority of five. But there was added to it a proviso limiting the intercession with the King to such of the condemned Lords as should deserve his mercy. The meaning was that those only should be recommended for pardon who would give information against others who had engaged, although less openly, in the same unprosperous cause. This extinguished all Lady Nithsdale's hopes. She well knew, as she says, that her Lord would never purchase life on such terms. '*Nor,*' adds the high-minded woman, '*would I have desired it.*'

The axe, as we have seen, was appointed to do its bloody work on the next day but one, and there was no time to lose if Lady Nithsdale sought to carry out the project she had secretly formed of effecting her Lord's escape in woman's clothes. No sooner was the debate concluded than she hastened from the House of Peers to the Tower, where, putting on a face of joy, she went up to the guards at each station and told them that she brought good news. 'No more fear for the prisoners,' she cried, 'since now their petition has passed.' Nor, in saying this, was she without an object. She rightly judged that the soldiers believing that the prisoners were on the point of being pardoned would become, of course, less vigilant. Moreover, at each station she drew some money from her pocket, and gave it to the guards, bidding them drink 'the King's health and the Peers.' But she was careful, as she says, to be sparing in what she gave; enough to put the guards in good humour, and not enough to raise their suspicions as though their connivance was desired.

All this time she had never acquainted the Earl with her design. This plainly appears from a letter which Lord Herries has published, dated on this very day, the 22nd. It is addressed by Lord Nithsdale to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Traquair, and bids an affectionate farewell to him and to his sister, speaking of himself as fully expecting and calmly resigned to death.

The next morning, the last before the intended execution, was spent by Lady Nithsdale in the needful preparations, and, above all, in securing the assistance of one Mrs. Morgan, a friend of her faithful Evans. When she was ready to go, she sent for Mrs. Mills, at whose house she was lodging, and said: 'Finding now there is no further room for hope of my Lord's pardon, nor longer time than this night, I am resolved to endeavour his escape. I have provided all that is requisite for it; and I hope you will not refuse to come along with me to the end that he may pass for you. Nay, more, I must beg you will come immediately, because we are full late.' Lady Nithsdale had, with excellent judgment, delayed this appeal to the last possible moment; so that her landlady might be put to an immediate decision on the spur of pity, and have no leisure to think of the danger she was herself incurring by any share in the escape of a man convicted of treason. Mrs. Mills having in this surprise assented, Lady Nithsdale bade Mrs. Morgan, who was tall and slender—her height not unlike Lord Nithsdale's—to put under her own riding-hood another which Lady Nithsdale had provided, and after this all three stepped into the coach, which was
ready

ready at the door. As they drove to the Tower, Lady Nithsdale has noted that she never ceased to talk with her two companions, so as to leave them no time to reflect.

On arriving at their destination the Countess found that, as usual, she was allowed to take in but one person at a time. She first took Mrs. Morgan, and while they went up stairs spoke, so as to be overheard, of the necessity that, besides the Lords' vote, she should present a separate petition of her own. Within the prisoner's chamber she bade Mrs. Morgan take out and leave the riding-hood that she had brought beneath her clothes, and then conducted her out again, saying as she went, 'Pray do me the kindness to send my maid to me that I may be dressed, else I shall be too late with my petition.'

Having thus dismissed Mrs. Morgan, the Countess next brought in Mrs. Mills. As they passed she bade Mrs. Mills hold her handkerchief to her face, as though in tears, designing that the Earl should go forth in the same manner, and thus conceal, in part at least, his face from the guards. When alone with him in his chamber, they proceeded as they best could to disguise him. He had a long beard, which there was not time to shave, but the Countess daubed it over with some white paint that she had provided. In like manner she put some red paint on his cheeks and some yellow on his eyebrows, which were black and thick, while Mrs. Mills's were *blonde* and slight; and she had also ready some ringlets of the same coloured hair. Next she made Mrs. Mills take off the riding-hood in which she came and put on instead that which Mrs. Morgan had brought. Finally they proceeded to equip Lord Nithsdale in female attire by the aid of the riding-hood which the guards had just before seen on Mrs. Mills—by the aid also of all Lady Nithsdale's petticoats but one.

Matters being so far matured, Lady Nithsdale opened the door and led out the real Mrs. Mills, saying aloud, in a tone of great concern, 'Dear Mrs. Catherine, I must beg you to go in all haste and look for my woman, for she certainly does not know what o'clock it is, and has forgot the petition I am to give, which should I miss is irreparable, having but this one night; let her make all the haste she can possible, for I shall be upon thorns till she comes.'

In the ante-room there were then eight or nine persons, the wives and daughters of the guards; they all seemed to feel for the Countess, and quickly made way for her companion. The sentry at the outer door in like manner opened it with alacrity, and thus Mrs. Mills went out. Lady Nithsdale then returning to her Lord, put a finishing touch to his disguise, and waited
patiently

patiently until it was nearly dark, and she was afraid that candles would be brought. This she determined was the best time to go; so she led forth by the hand the pretended Mrs. Mills, who, as though weeping, held up a handkerchief to her eyes, while Lady Nithsdale, with every expression of grief, loudly lamented herself that her maid Evans had been so neglectful, and had ruined her by her long delay. 'So, dear Mrs. Betty,' she added, 'run and bring her with you, for God's sake; you know my lodgings, and if ever you made haste in your life, do it now, for I am almost distracted with this disappointment.' The guards, not a little mollified by Lady Nithsdale's gifts the day before, and fully persuaded that a reprieve was at hand, had not taken much heed of the ladies whom they saw pass to and fro, nor exactly reckoned their number. They opened the door, without the least suspicion, to Lady Nithsdale and the false Mrs. Mills, and both accordingly went out. But no sooner past the door than Lady Nithsdale slipped behind her Lord on the way down stairs, and made him precede her, lest the guards, on looking back, should observe his gait, as far different from a lady's. All the time that they walked down she continued to call to him aloud in a tone of great distress, entreating him to make all possible haste, for the sake of her petition; and at the foot of the last stairs she found, as agreed, her trusty Evans, into whose hands she put him.

It had further been settled by Lady Nithsdale that Mr. Mills should wait for them in the open space before the Tower. Mr. Mills had come accordingly, but was so thoroughly convinced of the hopeless nature of the enterprise, that, on seeing Mrs. Evans and the false Mrs. Mills approach him, he grew quite dazed, and, in his confusion, instead of helping them, ran home. Evans, however, retained her presence of mind. She took her precious charge, in the first place, to some friends on whom she could rely, and thence proceeding alone to Mr. Mills's house, learnt from him which was the hiding-place he had provided. To this they now conducted the Earl. It was a house just before the Court of Guards, and belonged to a poor woman who had but one tiny room, up a small pair of stairs, and containing one poor little bed.

Meanwhile Lady Nithsdale, after seeing her husband pass the gates in his disguise, had returned to the chamber, lately his, up stairs. There, so as to be heard outside, she affected to speak to him, and to answer as if he had spoken to her, imitating his voice as nearly as she could, and walking up and down, as though they had walked and talked together. This she continued to do until she thought he had time to get out of his enemies' reach.

'I then

‘I then began to think,’ she adds, ‘it was fit for me to get out of it also.’ Then opening the door to depart, she went half out, and holding it in her hand so that those without might hear, she took what seemed to be a solemn leave of her Lord for that night, complaining again of Evans’s delay, and saying there was no remedy but to go herself in search of her. She promised that if the Tower were still open after she had done, she would see him again that night; but that otherwise, as soon as ever it was opened in the morning, she would certainly be with him, and hoped to bring him good news. Before shutting the door she drew to the inside a little string that lifted up a wooden latch, so that it could only be opened by those within, and she then shut the door with a flap, so that it might be securely closed. This being done, she took her departure. As she passed by she told the Earl’s *valet de chambre*, who knew nothing of the plan of escape, that my Lord would not have candles till he called for them, for that he would finish some prayers first.

On leaving the Tower Lady Nithsdale observed several hackney-coaches waiting in the open space, and taking one, she drove first to her own lodgings. There she dismissed the coach for fear of being traced, and went on in a sedan-chair to the house of Anne Duchess of Buccleuch, widow of the ill-fated Monmouth. The Duchess had promised to be ready to go with her to present, even almost at the last moment, her single petition; and Lady Nithsdale now left a message at her door, with her ‘most humble service,’ to say that her Grace need not give herself any further trouble, it being now thought fit to give a general petition in the name of all.

From the Duchess of Buccleuch’s Lady Nithsdale, again changing her conveyance, and calling a second sedan-chair, went on to the Duchess of Montrose’s. The Duke was on the Government side, but the Duchess was her personal friend. Lady Nithsdale, being shown into a room upstairs, the Duchess hastened to join her. Then, as Lady Nithsdale writes, ‘as my heart was very light, I smiled when she came into the chamber and ran to her in great joy. She really started when she saw me, and since owned that she thought my head was turned with trouble, till I told her my good fortune.’

The Duchess, on hearing what had passed, cordially took part in the joy of her friend, and declared that she would go at once to Court and see how the news of the escape was received. She went accordingly, and next time she saw Lady Nithsdale told her that ‘the Elector’—for so she termed him—had, in her own phrase, ‘stormed terribly,’ and said he was betrayed, for he was sure it could not have been done without connivance; and he
sent

sent immediately two of his suite to the Tower to see that the other prisoners were well guarded. On the opposite side it was related that his Majesty—perhaps at a later and calmer moment—made a far more good-natured remark. He is rumoured to have said on Lord Nithsdale's escape, 'It was the best thing that a man in his situation could do.' Indeed, according to one account, Lord Nithsdale's name was included in a list to be sent out that very evening of the Peers to be reprieved. In fact, only two—Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure—were executed the next day.

Lady Nithsdale paid no more visits that evening. From the Duchess's house she went straight to her husband's hiding-place. There in that single narrow room upstairs they remained closely shut up, making as little stir as possible, and relying for their sustenance on some bread and wine which Mrs. Mills brought them in her pocket. Thus they continued for some days, until there arose a favourable opportunity for Lord Nithsdale to leave the kingdom. A servant of the Venetian Ambassador, Mitchell by name, was ordered to go down to Dover in his Excellency's coach-and-six, and bring back his Excellency's brother. By the contrivance of Mitchell, and without the Ambassador's knowledge, the Earl slipped on a livery coat and travelled as one in the Ambassador's train to Dover, where, hiring a small vessel, he crossed without suspicion, and, taking Mitchell with him, landed safe at Calais. Lady Nithsdale, for whom no search was made, remained for the time in London.

In concluding the narrative of this remarkable escape, we think that even the most cursory reader cannot fail to notice its close resemblance to that other escape of Count Lavalette from the *Conciergerie* prison at Paris on the evening of the 20th December, 1815. The Countess having changed dresses with her husband in his prison chamber, he passed out in woman's attire, leaning on his daughter's arm and holding a handkerchief to his face, as though in an agony of tears. Yet, great as is the likeness between the two cases, it arose from coincidence, and not at all from imitation. The detailed account of the whole affair, as given by Count Lavalette in the second volume of his 'Memoirs,' clearly shows that they had never heard of Lady Nithsdale, and knew nothing of any similar attempt in England.

The heroine of this later deliverance was a niece of the Empress Josephine; her maiden name Emilie de Beauharnais. Her letters since her marriage, several of which we have seen, are signed Beauharnais-Lavalette. She had been in childbirth only a few weeks before the 20th of December, her nerves were still unstrung, and her strength was not yet restored. There was also
a great

a great difficulty in the way of the disguise which she had planned; she was tall and slender in person, while Count Lavalette was short and stout. But muffled up as he was, the difference failed to be perceived by the officers on duty, and his escape from the prison was successfully accomplished.

It is well known, and we need not repeat, how the generous spirit of Sir Robert Wilson, with two others of our countrymen, effected a few days afterwards his further escape from France to Belgium. The husband was safe, but hard—hard indeed—was the fate of the wife. She had to remain behind in the prison chamber, there to sustain, on the discovery of the escape, the first fury of the exasperated jailers, all trembling for their places. During six weeks she was kept in close captivity, all access of friends or domestics, or even of her daughter, denied her. Weak in health as she had been from the first, it is no wonder that her mind would not bear the strain that was put upon it. Her reason became obscured, and soon after she was set free from prison she had to be removed to a *Maison de Santé*. When, after six years of exile, her husband obtained his pardon and was able to return to France, she did not know him again.

The mental malady of Madame Lavalette hung upon her for full twelve years. At the end of that time her reason was, partially at least, restored, and she could go back to her husband's house. But she continued subject to a settled melancholy and could only lead a life of strict retirement. Her husband died in 1830, while she survived till June 1855.

Reverting to Lady Nithsdale, we may observe that while the publication of her narrative in 1792 made clear all the circumstances of her Lord's escape, nothing further was known of his or her further fortunes beyond the dates of their respective deaths in Italy. It is therefore with pleasure that, in the correspondence now before us, we find numerous letters from the Countess subsequent to the great act and exploit of her life on the 23rd of February, 1716. To these letters, as well as to some others by which they are illustrated, we shall now apply ourselves, hoping that our readers may feel some part at least of the interest that we do in the life of this high-minded lady.

Lord Nithsdale, on landing at Calais, had gone straight to Paris. There, in the course of the spring, he received a pressing invitation from the Prince, whom he constantly regarded as his rightful King. One phrase of that letter is cited by his nephew Lord Linton: 'As long as I have a crust of bread in the world assure yourself you shall always have a share of it.' The Earl accordingly set out for Italy, there to do homage, and remain for at least a few weeks' visit. The Countess, on her part, finding

finding no pursuit made for her in London, ventured, a little later, to ride back to Scotland with her faithful Evans, desiring to arrange her family affairs. For several weeks she lived without molestation, and took a fond—it proved to be a final—farewell of her own Terregles. When again in London she was advised that she was in great risk of arrest, and would do wisely to leave England. Embarking accordingly, she landed on the coast of Flanders, where she was detained some time by a miscarriage and dangerous illness. Only half-recovered, she set out again to join, first her sister at Bruges, and next, in October, her husband at Lille. Alas! that reunion did not bring her all the happiness that she had fondly hoped. Her letter from Lille to Lady Traquair has not been preserved, but a later one from Paris gives a full account of her proceedings and plans: it is dated February 29, 1717.

‘I could not resolve to leave this place, dearest sister, without giving you an account of the situation of your brother’s affairs and mine. I suppose you have received mine from Lille, so you are acquainted with the reasons of our quitting that place, and consequently have only to tell you that I immediately went to my old mistress [Mary of Modena, Queen Dowager of England], who, though she received me very kindly, yet there was great complaints of poverty, and no likelihood of my getting into her service again. My first attempt was to endeavour to get a recommendation from her to her son to take my husband into his service; but all in vain, it being alleged that as matters now stand with him, he could not augment his family. . . . My next business was to see what I could get to live on, that we might take our resolutions where to go accordingly. But all that I could get was 100 livres a month to maintain me in everything—meat, drink, fire, candle, washing, clothes, lodging, servants’ wages; in fine, all manner of necessaries. My husband has 200 livres a month, but considering his way of managing, it was impossible to live upon it. . . . For, let me do what I will, he cannot be brought to submit to live according to what he has; and when I endeavoured to persuade him to keep in compass, he attributed my advice to my grudging him everything, which stopped my mouth, since I am very sure that I would not [grudge] my heart’s blood if it could do him any service. . . . It was neither in gaming, company, nor much drinking, that it was spent, but in having the nicest of meat and wine; and all the service I could do was to see he was not cheated in the buying it. I had a little, after our meeting at Lille, endeavoured to persuade him to go back to his Master, upon the notice he received that 50 livres a month was taken off of his pension; but that I did not dare persist in, for he seemed to imagine that I had a mind to be rid of him, which one would have thought could scarce come into his mind.

‘And now, he finding, what I had often warned him, that we could
get

get no more, some of his friends has persuaded him to follow his Master, he having sent him notice where he was going, and that he might come after him if he pleased; and I, having no hopes of getting anything out of England, am forced to go to the place where my son is, to endeavour to live, the child and me, upon what I told you. All my satisfaction is, that at least my husband has twice as much to maintain himself and man as I have; so I hope when he sees there is no resource, as, indeed, now there is not, having sold all, even to the necessary little plate I took so much pains to bring over, he will live accordingly, which will be some comfort to me, though I have the mortification to be from him, which, after we met again, I hoped never to have separated; but God's will be done, and I submit to this cross, as well as many others I have had in the world, though I must confess living from a husband I love so well is a very great one. . . . He was to be at Lions last Tuesday, and I cannot hear from him till I am arrived at La Flesh, for I go from hence to-morrow morning at seven o'clock. . . . Pray burn this as soon as you have read it, and keep the contents to yourself.'

Lady Nithsdale, it will be noticed, speaks of having no hopes of anything from England. Her meaning here is best elucidated by the following passage from her long letter to Lady Lucy Herbert, which refers to the scene at Court, when she was dragged along the passage by the skirts of George the First:—

'My being so rudely treated had made a noise, and gave no good reputation to the Duke of Hanover; for several said, what had they brought themselves to? For the Kings of England was never used to refuse a petition from the poorest woman's hand; and to use a person of my quality in such a manner as he had done was a piece of unheard-of brutality. These talks made the Elector have a particular dislike to me, which he showed afterwards; for when all the ladies whose Lords had been concerned in this business put in claims for their jointures, mine was given in amongst the rest; but he said I was not, nor did deserve, the same privilege, so I was excepted, and he would never hear speak in my favour.'

We give the passage as Lady Nithsdale wrote it, not desiring to emulate, even at a humble distance, the very great politeness of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. But we may observe that these words of the Countess, like many others from her pen, are most strongly coloured by political resentment. Ungenerous as was, beyond all doubt, the exception made of Lady Nithsdale in the matter of the Peeresses' jointures, there is no ground to regard it otherwise than as a Ministerial measure—not a tittle of evidence to derive it personally from the King. We may add that, judging from the records of this reign, we do not believe that George the First, whatever may have been his other failings, was capable of the petty spite which is here imputed to him.

In her letter from Paris Lady Nithsdale mentions that she was going to La Flèche, on purpose to be with her son, who, we may conclude, was receiving his education at the great Jesuit College there established. From La Flèche she continued her correspondence with Lady Traquair; and, for fear of its being intercepted, commonly signed herself 'W. Joanes,' or sometimes 'W. Johnstone,' while she addressed her sister Countess as 'Mrs. Young.'

'Writing on the 10th of June, 1717, after reverting to the recovery from an illness of her nephew Lord Linton, then in France, she gives the last news of her husband:—

'Now that I have given you an account of what is nearest to you, I must let you know that your friend and mine is well, at least was so the last time I was so happy as to hear from him. He has had another great preservation, being six days in so great a danger at sea that all the seamen left off working, and left themselves to the mercy of the waves; and was at last cast into Antibes, from whence they coasted it to Lighorn. However, he is now safe with his Master, and both of them in good health. I hope these two narrow escapes in so short a time is not for nothing, and that God reserves him for some great good.'

Lord Nithsdale, however, was not well pleased with Italy. He did not receive from the Chevalier the cordial welcome to which, with good reason, he deemed himself entitled; and was exposed to divers mortifications at that melancholy little Court, then established at Urbino. Nor was he at all edified by his nearer view of the Pope's government in ecclesiastical or in civil affairs. Here are his own words to Lady Nithsdale as she transcribes them: 'Be assured there is nothing in this damnable country that can tend to the good either of one's soul or body.'

We must say that we give Lord Herries great credit for his candour in allowing the passage to be printed without change or comment, since we dare say that no very zealous Roman Catholic could read it without something of an *Abi Satanas!* feeling.

Lady Nithsdale herself may have disliked still more what follows, as she reports it to Lady Traquair:—

'The remainder of his letter did not much please me, it running all upon the inconveniences of living where he was, and a full and fixed resolution of leaving his Master. . . . However, as I sent him word, I hoped God Almighty reserved his reward for a better place, and that after the favour he had received in his two late preservations, he ought also to accept the trials from the same hand, with some other little motives for the doing it, whose reflections I hoped might

might render it more easy as well as meritorious. But he answered it in so great a banter upon my virtue and resignation, that I believe that it will be the last time that I shall venture to inspire him with any such thoughts, not doubting that he makes better use of them than I do. But it proceeded from my good will alone. However, in what regards his temporal good, I shall not be so far wanting in my duty as not to tell him my thoughts, with a reference to his better judgment; after which I have performed my part, and shall submit, as I ever have done, to what he thinks fit.' —

Lady Nithsdale therefore, in her next ensuing letter, takes her stand on temporal grounds :—

'You may be sure, my dear Lord, that having you with me, or near me, would be the greatest natural satisfaction I could have in this world; but I should be a very ill wife if, to procure it myself, I would let you run into those inconveniences you would do if you followed the method you propose of leaving your Master. . . . So, if you have any regard for your honour and family, leave off any such thoughts; for from that time your Master will have a pretence to do nothing for you, whereas if ever he comes to be in a condition [and with you near him] he cannot avoid it. . . . But what would go nearer my heart, if it were possible, chameleon-like, to live on air, is that it would ruin your reputation; and that all your enemies, or rather enviers, who think others' pretensions a diminution of theirs, might make it their business to say that it was not desire of serving your Master that made you do what you did, but because you could not live at home on what you had.'

Writing from Scotland, Lady Traquair argued strongly in the same sense as Lady Nithsdale, and the Earl yielded in some degree to their joint representations. It induced him at least to pause and think again before the final step was taken. Besides, there was now a strong rumour of the Chevalier's intended marriage, which would afford an opening for good places in the new and larger household to be formed.

Meanwhile Lady Nithsdale was enduring some of the sharpest privations of poverty. But for a little timely aid from the kind-hearted Lady Traquair she would have wanted all through the winter both warmth and light. Thus she writes in reply :—

'May God Almighty reward you in this and the next world for your goodness to us and ours! . . . My nephew paid me the sum you ordered, and never thing came more providentially, for I had tugged on in summer with much ado; but did not know in the world what to do for the addition of wood and candle, which it will enable me to get. But I fear I must soon think of repaying it again, since I took it up from a gentleman, who took my bill for it on the goldsmith you bid me take it from. . . . Had I not had so pressing a need

need of it, I would not have taken it, your son having lent your brother 200 livres.'

Another calamity was now close impending on this ill-fated lady. On the 7th of May, 1718, died at St. Germain's her former mistress and her constant friend, the Queen Dowager of England. It was a grievous blow to the whole melancholy train of exiles. Father James Carnegy, a Roman Catholic priest, writes thus from Paris :—

'The desolation amongst the followers of her son, her servants, and other poor dependants, amongst whom she used to divide all her pension, is inexpressible. It is said the Regent will assist the most indigent of them ; but nothing is yet certain. It is feared whatever he do to others, he dare not help the King's followers.'

Lady Nithsdale herself writes as follows from Paris on the 28th of June, and still to Lady Traquair :—

'My husband is now fully resolved not to leave his Master ; for when he went to take his leave of him, his Master was pleased to tell him that he had so few about him, that he would not part with him ; that he should probably be married before winter, and then he desired to have me in his family, and so desired him to leave off the thoughts of a journey for two or three months, which you may be sure he agreed to.'

Full of these hopes, Lord Nithsdale desired that the Countess should join him in Italy as soon as possible, since as he observes in these matters it is 'first come, first served.' He could send her no funds for the journey, but bade her apply to Lord and Lady Traquair, which Lady Nithsdale, mindful of their many obligations, was most unwilling to do. However, in the same letter of the 28th of June, she proceeds to say :—

'Though he bid me lose no time in writing to you about borrowing money, I would not do it, because, though he did not know it, my dear Mistress, who was, underhand, the occasion of furthering my promotion, and who, though it must never be known, was resolved I should be about her daughter-in-law, had promised me to give me notice when it was fit for me to go, and would have given me what was requisite to carry me ; and writ to me four days before her illness what she would have me write to her son in order to it, which I did the first post, and sent it inclosed in a letter to her. But, alas ! it arrived the day she died, some hours after her death. Imagine, you, whether her loss is not a great one to me. I may truly say I have lost a kind mother, for she was truly that to me whilst I had her. I would not write to you, being sensible that you have already done a great deal ; so that nothing but unavoidable necessity could make me mention any such thing. But, alas ! I am so far from being able to comply with my husband's desire now, that
I know

I know not how scarce to keep myself from starving, with the small credit I have here, being reduced to the greatest of straits.'

The kindness of Lord and Lady Traquair, as shown on many former occasions, was not denied her on this. A small sum in addition was paid her by order of the Chevalier. There was also as it chanced one of her sisters then at Paris—Lady Anne Herbert by birth, and married to Francis Smith, Lord Carrington—'a person,' writes Lady Nithsdale, 'that one would have thought should have helped me in this juncture. But so far from it that I have not got a sixpence, but a promise to keep my little girl who stays with her. But I oblige myself to pay what masters she has, without which she would have lost all the learning I have done my endeavours to give her, notwithstanding all my strait.'

By the aid of the Traquair subsidy and that from her so-called Royal 'Master,' Lady Nithsdale was enabled to join her husband at Urbino, and, after a brief interval, proceed with him in the Chevalier's train to Rome. From Rome there soon went forth another melancholy letter to Lady Traquair:—

'*January 3, 1719.*—Dearest sister, I have still deferred writing to you since I came to this place, hoping to have some agreeable news to make a letter welcome that had so far to go; but we still are in the same situation, and live upon hopes; and, indeed, without hope, hearts would break; but I can say no more. . . . I found him [my Lord] still the same man as to spending, not being able to conform himself to what he has, which really troubles me. And to the end that he might not make me the pretence, which he ever did, I do not touch a penny of what he has, but leave it to him to maintain him and his man, which is all he has, and live upon what is allowed me. . . . Now as to other things: the great expectations I had some reason to have conceived from my husband's letters when he sent for me hither, are far from answered. I am kept at as great a distance from my Master as can well be, and as much industry used to let me have none of his ear as they can; and though he is going to a house that his family can scarce fill, I could not obtain to be admitted under his roof. But that and many other things must be looked over; at least we shall have bread by being near him, and I have the happiness once again to be with my dear husband that I love above my life.'

The real fact as explaining the cold reception of Lord and Lady Nithsdale appears to be that the Chevalier was at this time greatly under the dominion of two unworthy favourites,—Colonel the Hon. John Hay, a son of Lord Kinnoul, and his wife Marjory, a daughter of Lord Stormont. Some years later James named John Hay his Secretary of State, with high rank in his titular peerage as Earl of Inverness. Both the wife and

husband are described as follows in Lockhart of Carnwath's 'Memoirs': 'The lady was a mere coquette, tolerably handsome, but withal prodigiously vain and arrogant. Her lord was a cunning, false, avaricious creature of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort of literature, and altogether void of experience in business.' It was now the object of this well-matched pair to confirm and maintain their influence by keeping away as much as possible all persons who would not declare themselves their followers and their dependants.

Within a few weeks, however, of Lord and Lady Nithsdale's arrival at Rome, James himself was suddenly called away from it. He was summoned to Spain, there to sanction and direct the expedition against Great Britain, which the Prime Minister Cardinal Alberoni had been preparing. It is well known how soon and how signally that project was baffled by the winds and tempests; and with how much of disappointment the Chevalier had to return to Italy.

In this journey to Spain James appears to have been attended by Lord Nithsdale, while the Countess remained at Rome. There she witnessed the arrival of James's bride, the Princess Clementina Sobieski, whom she describes (May 17, 1719) as follows:—

'This, dearest sister, is barely to acquaint you that yesternight arrived here our young Mistress. I and my companion went out a post to meet her, and, indeed, she is one of the charmingest, obliging, and well-bred young ladies that ever was seen. Our Master cannot but be extremely happy in her, and all those who has the good fortune to have any dependence on her. To add to it, she is very pretty; has good eyes, a fine skin, well shaped for her height; but is not tall, but may be so as yet, for she is but seventeen, and looks even younger. She has chosen a retired place in the town in our Master's absence.'

It had been hoped by Lord and Lady Nithsdale that on the return of James to Italy there would be expressed to them some disapproval of the mortifications to which they had almost daily been exposed. But it did not prove so. Lady Nithsdale writes, October 10, 1719:—

'The first of August our young Mistress went to meet her husband, who could not come hither by reason of the great heats, in which time it is thought dangerous to come into this town; so she went to a small place six or seven posts from hence, a very good air, but so small a place that she took but one person with her, which was Mrs. Hay. The straitness of the place was the reason given for my companion's and my stay behind; but there is some reason to believe that our Master did not care for to have more about him than what
he

he has there. He has not permitted anybody to go to him but those he sends for, which has been but few persons, and such only as those who addressed themselves to Mrs. Hay's brother or husband. . . . As before mentioned, our Master and Mistress comes hither, and are, probably speaking, to stay this winter, though the master of this town [the Pope] does not much approve of it. Where we shall go after God knows. His company he used to have about him is much diminished; many are gone, and more is a-going daily. My companion is a-going to her husband, and I fear neither he nor she intend to return; so that I am the only one now left of my station, and shall in all appearance be yet more trampled on than were both in our Master's absence. At his return we hoped for some redress, but now we have reason to believe we are to expect none, for everything is approved that was done in his absence, which has made many one withdraw; and I wish that may be the greatest ill that follows from the retirement of some. My husband would fain have been of the number, and have had me, but I told him my pleasure did not draw me hither, nor the slights and troubles I daily meet should make me go, but be overlooked by me for the same end that brought me, which was the good of my children and family; so I intend to act as if I saw nothing but what pleased me, and expect God Almighty's time for an alteration.'

In this same letter Lady Nithsdale laments to her sister-in-law her husband's want of forethought and consideration in borrowing, or, as she calls it, 'taking up' money where he finds it practicable, and, above all, in drawing bills on Lord or Lady Traquair without their consent and approval first obtained. She grieves at this money being

'all taken up and spent already, which,' she adds, 'is but too true; so that if his Master does not pay it, as I very much fear he will not, his reputation is quite lost. . . . All my comfort is that I have no share in this misfortune, for he has never been the man that has offered me one farthing of all the money he has taken up, and as yet all is spent, but how, is a riddle to me, for what he spends at home is but 30 pence a day in his eating. He has had but one suit of clothes since, and now he must have one for winter. For my part I continue in mourning as yet for want of wherewithal to buy clothes, and I brought my mourning with me that has served ever since I came, and was neither with my Master's or husband's money bought. But now I have nobody to address myself to but my Master for wherewithal to buy any.

'I know, between you and I, but that I need not tell my Master, that he [my Lord] blames me and his daughter for what he is obliged to take up; whereas I have not had one single penny, and as for our daughter, whose masters I must pay, or she forget all the little I have been at the expense of before, and have done it hitherto, I have neither paid out of his nor my own pension, which is

too small to do it, but that I had 30 pistoles from the Pope for her, which has done it. But now they are at an end, and I know not what to do. For as to my sister I suppose she will not see her starve or go naked, but for more I cannot rely on.'

Thus wearily and heavily the months dragged along at Rome. In March 1720, however, there came a gleam of joy when Lady Nithsdale found herself able to announce that the Princess gave hopes of an heir. Even this brief gleam was clouded over by signal mortifications. James would allow at this juncture no intimate access of any lady to his consort, except only Mrs. Hay,—

'who is one as you know,' Lady Nithsdale writes, 'that has never had any children; . . . and though I have had occasion to be better versed in these things, having been so long married and had so many children, yet they prefer one who has had no experience of that kind, and my Mistress has not so much as ever let me know how she was in any kind. And when she was indisposed, which she has been frequently since her being with child was spoke of, and that I was there constantly three times a day to see how she did, I never was thought fit to be admitted into the secret, but it was told me by herself and others that it was nothing but a cold, though I knew in what condition she was.'

In spite of these unpromising signs, Lady Nithsdale ventured at this juncture, 'humbly begging,' to know whether she 'might have any hopes of having care of the young Lord or Lady when it pleased God to send it.' She was not precisely refused—that is, there was no other person preferred. But the Chevalier answered that, 'having taken a resolution to take no servants while I am abroad, I will make neither governess nor under-governess. My wife has but little to do, and will look to it herself.'

Great was the delight of the whole mournful company of exiles when, on the last day of the year, the Princess gave birth to a son, Charles Edward, the hero of 'The Forty-five.' Henceforth the letters of Lady Nithsdale teem with accounts of his teething and weaning, and other incidents of childhood. Scarcely less were they rejoiced when, four years afterwards, there came a second son, Henry, afterwards Cardinal York.

But during this time the circumstances of the Nithsdales by no means improved. They were constantly reduced to dismal straits. Thus, on the occasion of Prince Charles's birth, when some gala dresses were required, Lady Nithsdale writes:—

'I have had the happiness to have one handsome suit procured me by the means of a Cardinal, who got it from the Pope, but that is between you and I, for I was forbid to let it be known. I have bought

bought two others, the one as good as that, the other more for bad weather, being obliged to walk on foot to my Master's several times in the day, so that I am much out of pocket, but shall in time get free, I hope, without taking a farthing from my husband for it. The reason why I thought myself obliged to provide myself so well, was that my Master might not think that because I was disappointed of what I had some reason to expect I did not care how I went; and also that if I had not he might have taken the pretence that he was ashamed I should be seen with his wife because I had not decent clothes.'

Still more grievous was it, for Lady Nithsdale at least, when dire necessity compelled them to draw bills on Lord Traquair, and trust to his generosity for their acceptance. In 1722 there went out a bill of a larger amount than usual, namely 150*l.*, and for this Lord Nithsdale desired that his sister should sell a little household furniture which his wife had left in her care, and apply the proceeds in its discharge.

'But,' as Lady Nithsdale writes, 'it will not answer our end if the money be not paid twenty days after the receipt of the bill; so I beg you by all that is dear to you to have compassion of us; for if this fails, if we were a-starving nobody would let us have a sixpence. We have pawned all our credit to hinder our being molested till this can be answered and have had no small difficulty in getting it done, and are quite out of the power of doing it longer.'

Lord Nithsdale, on his part, adds, in another letter, 'this, if not answered, will infallibly ruin me.'

Neither in this instance, nor in any other, so far as we are made aware of it, did Lord Traquair fail in the expected aid. But it must be owned that Lord Nithsdale made him a strange return. This was in 1723. Either to enhance his own importance, or for some other object, he intimated to the Chevalier that some property, belonging of right to himself, was unfairly detained by his brother-in-law. Hereupon James, desiring to do an act of justice at the same time with an act of kindness, wrote as follows to one of his agents in Scotland:—

'The Earl of Nidsdale tells me he has private means of his own in the Earl of Traquair's hands, from whom he has never yet got any account of them; and as you know the just regard I have, particularly for the first, I would have you get Mr. Carnegie to take a proper method of letting Traquair know that I should take it kindly if he would settle these affairs with his kinsman here to his satisfaction, which I am persuaded he will do when he knows it will be agreeable to me.'

Even the most placable of men must here have been roused to resentment. Here, in complete reversal of the real facts, was
Lord

Lord Traquair, a steady adherent of the exiled Prince, held up to that Prince, whose good opinion he was of course anxious to secure, as the spoiler of that kinsman whom he had so constantly befriended. No wonder if we find Lady Traquair writing to her brother as follows (January 1724):—

‘It is but within these few days that my husband was in a condition that he could know the contents of your letter, or what Sir John [the King] writ of your affairs. I do not pretend to write to you what his sentiments were upon knowing this most unexpected and unaccountable piece of news. He was not a little grieved that matters had been so misrepresented as if he had effects of yours in his hands, and were so unjust to so near a relation as not to transmit your own to you, though you be straitened and suffer in such a cause. This is indeed, dear brother, a very strange office from you to my husband, after so many services done by him to you and your family. I must say it is very unkind and a sad return for all the favours my husband has done you before and since you went last abroad; for he having no effects of yours save a little household furniture of no use to us and what I could not get disposed of, has honoured your bills, supplied your wants without scrape of pen from you; besides the considerable sum you owed him formerly, he even under God has preserved your family which without his money credit, and his son’s assiduous attendance and application, must, humanly speaking, have sunk. He might reasonably have expected other returns from you than complaints to one we value so infinitely as we do Sir John, as if my husband had wronged you and detained your own when your sufferings justly call for the greatest consideration.’

This affair, however little to the credit of Lord Nithsdale, produced no breach between the sisters: ‘I having been always kept ignorant of his affairs,’ writes Lady Nithsdale, in a previous letter (March 22, 1723). And subsequently (March 7, 1725), adverting to this very incident, she says to Lady Traquair:—

‘As to what you imagined to be the reason of my not writing you wronged me very much in the matter, for what happens between your brother and you yourselves are best able to judge. I am only sorry that he should do anything that gives you reason to take ill, and if it lay in my power I am sure he would not. As for my part I am so sensible of all your kindnesses and favours to my son and family that I never think I can sufficiently acknowledge them, or return you my grateful thanks.’

But although there might be no absolute breach of friendship, there was certainly a decline of correspondence. From this period the letters, as we find them, of Lady Nithsdale to her sister-in-law are few and far between. The latest of all, after six years’ interval, bears date January 29, 1739, and in this she
excuses

excuses herself that 'my great troubles, and illnesses occasioned by them, has hindered me from writing hitherto.'

In this period of years, however, there had been several events to cheer her. Lord Maxwell, her sole surviving son, after much litigation in the Court of Session and the House of Lords, was admitted by the latter tribunal to the benefit of an early entail which Lord Nithsdale had made, so that at his father's death he would, notwithstanding his father's forfeiture, succeed to Terregles and the family estates. Practically he succeeded to them—in part, at least—even sooner, since the life-interest of his father was purchased from the Government in his behalf.

Pass we to the daughter, Lady Anne, who had come to join her parents in Italy. There she chanced to meet Lord Bellew, an Irish nobleman upon his travels. He conceived for her a strong attachment, apparently on but slight acquaintance. As he writes himself to Lord Nithsdale (April 27, 1731):—

'I propose to be entirely happy in the possession of the lady, who has so fine a character with all those that know her. But it is not only hearsay on which I ground my happiness, having had the honour and pleasure to see Lady Anne, though, perchance, not the good fortune to be remembered by her.'

The offer of his hand, which this letter conveyed, was by the young lady accepted, and the marriage took place at Lucca in the course of the same year.

Another marriage, at nearly the same period, must have been still more interesting to Lord and Lady Nithsdale. Lord Maxwell, now a resident in Scotland, had become attached to his cousin Lady Catherine Stuart, daughter of Lord and Lady Traquair. Considering the old connection, and the constant friendship between the two families, and their agreement both in religion and in politics, to say nothing of the benefits conferred by the one Earl upon the other, it might have been supposed that the prospect of this alliance would have given Lord Nithsdale especial pleasure. But such was by no means the case. We may perceive the contrary from the following sentence of Lady Nithsdale, writing to Lady Traquair (October 2, 1731): 'Dear sister, I have this considerable while been expecting every post the good news of the conclusion of my son's happy marriage with Lady Catherine; a happiness he has long coveted, and I as long been endeavouring to procure him his father's consent to.' The marriage, however, did take place in the course of the same year. It appears to have been a happy one, as Lady Nithsdale, by anticipation, called it. No sons were
born

born from it, and only one daughter, through whom the line of Maxwell was continued.

Lord Nithsdale did not live to witness the last enterprise on behalf of the exiled Stuarts. He died at Rome in March 1744. After his decease his widow was induced, though not without difficulty, to accept an annuity of 200*l.* a year from her son, who then came into full possession of the family estates. Of this annuity she resolved to apply one-half to the discharge of her husband's debts, which would in that manner be paid off at the end of three years.

Lady Nithsdale herself survived till the spring of 1749. Nothing further is known of her declining years. We conjecture, however, that she had grown very infirm, since her signature, of which some specimens are given at this period, is tremulous and indistinct to a most uncommon degree.

Both Lord and Lady Nithsdale died at Rome, and, in all probability, were buried there. When the late Mr. Marmaduke Maxwell, of Terregles, came to that city in the year 1870—so the editor of these volumes informs us—he made inquiries for any monument or grave of these two ancestors; but, after much research, was unable to find the least trace of any such.

Here then ends our narrative of the life of Winifred Herbert, as she was by birth, the worthy descendant of that first Earl of Pembroke of the last creation, the chief of the English forces at the battle of St. Quentin and the Lord President of Wales. In her was nobly sustained the spirit of that ancient race. Nor in our own century has that spirit declined. When we look to what they have done, or may probably yet do, in the present age—to the past of Sidney Herbert—to the future of Lord Carnarvon—to the future also perhaps of that son of Sidney Herbert, who, young as he is, has already wielded his pen with considerable power, though not always quite discreetly, and who has been so recently named Under-Secretary of State in that very War Department where his father gained and deserved such high distinction—we cannot but feel how much of sap and growth is left in the ancestral stem, and how aptly it might take for its motto *REVIRESCIT*.

- ART. IV.—1. *Lyra Elegantiarum; a Collection of some of the best Specimens of Vers de Société, &c.* Edited by Frederick Locker. London, 1867.
2. *Ballads.* By W. M. Thackeray. London, 1856.
3. *London Lyrics.* By Frederick Locker. Sixth Edition. London, 1873.
4. *Verses and Translations.* By C. S. C. Second Edition. Cambridge, 1862.
5. *Fly-leaves.* By C. S. C. Cambridge, 1872.
6. *Vignettes in Rhyme and Vers de Société.* By Austin Dobson. London, 1873.

THE writer of *vers de société* (for which we have no corresponding term in the English language) stands in the same relation to the audience of the *salon* and the club as the ballad-writer to that of the alehouse and the street. The one circle is more cultivated than the other, but the poet must equally reflect its tone, think its thoughts, and speak its language. Not a few of the brightest specimens of this poetry are of anonymous authorship. Many of its best writers whose names have been recorded were not professed poets, but courtiers, statesmen, divines, soldiers, wits, or ‘men about town,’ who combined with their intimate knowledge and quick observation of the world a sufficient facility in the production of easy sparkling verse to win the ear of their circle. Whenever, as has often been the case in our literary history, a poet of high genius or graceful accomplishment has cultivated this branch of the art, he has not failed to enrich it with his own peculiar charm. But, as Isaac D’Israeli has pointed out in his essay on the subject, the possession of genius is ‘not always sufficient to impart that grace of amenity’ which is essentially characteristic of verse ‘consecrated to the amusement of society. Compositions of this kind, effusions of the heart and pictures of the imagination, produced in the convivial, the amatory, and the pensive hour,’ demand, as he goes on to show, rather the skill of a man of the world than a man of letters. ‘The poet must be alike polished by an intercourse with the world as with the studies of taste, one to whom labour is negligence, refinement a science, and art a nature.’*

Mr. Locker, in his admirable preface to the volume that heads our list, has expanded a similar view with copious illustration. He is careful to remark that while in this species of verse ‘a boudoir decorum is or ought always to be preserved, where sentiment never surges into passion, and where humour never over-

* ‘Literary Miscellanies’ (Edition of 1863). p. 308.

flows into boisterous merriment,' it 'need by no means be confined to topics of artificial life, but subjects of the most exalted and of the most trivial character may be treated with equal success,' provided the conditions of the art be duly observed. What those conditions are he proceeds to show. His definition of them is straiter than Isaac D'Israeli's, and somewhat too exacting, for it would be easy to prove that many of the poems admitted into his collection do not unreservedly comply with them. A certain 'conversational' tone, as he notes, generally pertains to the best *vers de société*. The qualities essential to the successful conduct of conversation will accordingly be observed in them,—*savoir-faire*, sprightliness, brevity, or neatness of expression. Humour, the salt of well-bred conversation, is one of their commonest characteristics; and egotism, a *soupçon* of which is never grudged to an agreeable talker, frequently lends them flavour and piquancy. But these are not indispensable ingredients. Such verse is as often purely sentimental, and may at times be tinged, although not too strongly, with the emotion of which sentiment is but the mental *simulacrum*. No precise definition, indeed, is possible of a poetry so volatile, a wind-sown seed of fancy, for which circumstance serves as soil, and opportunity as sun, and that varies with the nature of its subject, the disposition of its writer, and still more the temper of its age.

This brings us to what we deem the special feature that distinguishes it from other branches of the art, its representative value as a reflection of history. To this aspect of the subject, upon which we doubt if sufficient stress has yet been laid, the following observations must mainly be devoted. The remark already made respecting the living interest of the poetry of society applies with equal force to its historical interest. Since the days of Horace and Martial it has owed this less to the genius and culture of its authors, great as they have often been, than to the abstract merit of its faithfulness as a contemporary mirror and chronograph of manners. We use the word manners here in its largest sense, as the external index of the moral and intellectual, religious and political standards accepted at a given epoch. How strongly imprinted upon the face of a literature are the characteristics of the national life whence it has sprung; how closely interwoven with its fabric are the beliefs and habits, the aspirations and tendencies, which have acquired for the people that produced it their particular place in history, has been demonstrated by such critics as M. Taine from abundant resources upon an extensive scale. The same thesis, however, may admit of illustration within the limits of a province so restricted as that of *vers de société*; and in the volume which we

have

have selected as a text-book, the materials have been so skilfully brought together, that the task of assortment for this purpose is comparatively easy. The development of our national character during the last three centuries, the changes which the canons of literary taste, the standards of social morality, the relations of the sexes, and the equilibrium of political forces, have severally undergone in the interval, may here be traced with the least possible fatigue by the light of the most fascinating of studies.

If the lines of Skelton ('Merry Margaret'), with which the 'Lyra Elegantiarum' fitly opens, quaint with insular mannerism and racy of Chaucer's English, mark the stagnant condition of our literature since the impulse imparted to that master's genius by the dawning of the Renaissance in Italy, the accompanying lines of Surrey ('The means to attain happy Life') and of Wyatt ('The one he would love') owe their thoughtful calm and grave sweetness to the influence of that revival at its noontide, and a closer study of those Italian models which were still the criterion of literary art in Europe. The luxuriant verdure into which our poetry burgeoned under its radiance, in an atmosphere purified by the Reformation of religion, is favourably illustrated in the specimen-lyrics here given of the Elizabethan era. Of the manifold elements which then contributed to the abounding wealth of national life, not a few are thus represented. The courtesy and constancy of which Sidney was the foremost type are as manifest in his love-songs ('The Serenade' and 'A Ditty') as in the career which closed so gallantly at Zutphen. Raleigh's philosophical 'Description of Love,' and 'Nymph's reply to the passionate Shepherd,' remind us that the brilliant courtier and adventurous voyager was at the same time the historian of the world. The verses attributed to Shakespeare, to which the latter poem is a reply, 'My flocks feed not,' and Breton's charming madrigal, 'In the merry month of May,' introduce us into the fictitious Arcadia created by Spenser and Sidney, which, however graceful in its origin as an idyllic reflection of the chivalric revival, subsequently degenerated into so poor a sham. There is a truer ring, an unaffected smack of the soil, in such poems as Robert Greene's 'Happy as a Shepherd' and 'Content,' wherein the healthy ideal of a country life, for which Englishmen have ever cherished an avowed or a secret yearning, is depicted in admired contrast with the delights of a palace. There is scarcely a period in our literature when the lips of courtiers and statesmen, wits and worldlings, have not, in some form or other, echoed the sentiment of these lines:—

'The

‘The homely house that harbours quiet rest,
 The cottage that affords no pride nor care,
 The mean that ’grees with country music best,
 The sweet consort of mirth and music’s fare;
 Obscurèd life sets down a type of bliss.
 A mind content both crown and kingdom is.’

The rough strength and unspoilt grace which were so kindly tempered in Ben Jonson by the addition of classical culture, make themselves felt in such lyrics as ‘To Celia’ and ‘Charis,’ more than one counterpart to which the Editor might have extracted from ‘The Forest’ and ‘Underwoods.’ The conceits of Carew, on the other hand (‘Ask me no more,’ &c.), seem to betray his infection with the false taste which the ‘Euphues’ of Lyly has the discredit of introducing into Elizabethan English. The contemporary poems of Sir Robert Ayton are admirable examples of that purer style which had arisen with Surrey, and was to culminate with Milton. Their burden of woman’s inconstancy and man’s self-respecting dignity (‘I loved thee once,’ and ‘I do confess thou’rt smooth and fair’) is a favourite theme with the poets of this period, and marks a reaction against the exaggerated ideal of womanhood, which, among other incidents of the Neo-chivalry, Spenser, Sidney, and their fellows had loyally striven to restore. George Wither’s ‘Shall I wasting in despair?’ which breathes of the writer’s ante-Puritan days, is the best-known embodiment of this reactionary spirit. It is but a mild prelude to the tone of jovial recklessness and *de haut en bas* gallantry running through the lyrics of Sir John Suckling. No more characteristic *vers de société* than his ‘Careless Lover,’ ‘Why so pale?’ ‘Out upon it, I have loved,’ ‘The Siege,’ and ‘Love and Debt,’ are to be found in the language. The opening verse of the latter, with its pious aspiration—

‘That I were fairly out of debt
 As I am out of love,’

echoes the living voice of the roistering cavalier, as light-hearted in the day of prosperity as he was free-handed. The loyal devotion of which that type was capable in the crisis of adversity imparts the glow of inspiration to the exquisite poems of Lovelace. His ‘Tell me not, Sweet, I am unkind,’ and ‘To Althæa from prison,’ familiar as a household word in every line, are instinct with that charm of emotional nobleness of which the thousandth repetition never makes us weary.

More completely representative of the Cavalier poets is Herrick, of whose delicious lyrics this volume affords many examples. Alike in his chivalrous loyalty, avowed the most
 openly

openly when Fortune was the least favourable to his cause, his outbursts of devotional feeling, his lapses into the grossest sensualism, his robust English instincts, his refined classic culture, his absorption in the pursuit of individual pleasure and blindness to the signs of national distress, he aptly exemplifies a party whose aspect of moral and intellectual paradox is its distinguishing note in history. Of the disastrous defeat which, owing to this instability, his party suffered at the hands of the earnest, strait-laced Puritans, 'men of one idea,' Herrick bore his full share. Had his political sympathies been less pronounced than they were, such an amorous bacchanalian priest would never have been allowed to hold the cure of souls at Dean Prior while a 'painful preacher of the Word' could be found to take his place. To the pressure of poverty consequent upon his supersession and exile in London, we owe the publication of his 'Noble Numbers,' a collection exclusively sacred, in 1647, and his 'Hesperides,' a collection miscellaneously profane, in 1648. It is significant of the writer's character that the former opens with his prayer for the Divine forgiveness of the very

'unbaptized rhymes
Writ in my wild unhallowed times,'

which in the following year he permitted himself to include within the latter. 'Unbaptized,' in the strictest sense of the word, many of these verses assuredly are. The poet in his distress seems to have raked together every scrap that he had written, and mingled the freshest tokens of his inspiration with the sickliest and the foulest records of his bad taste, without any attempt at assortment. Whatever drawback be allowed for the inconsistency of the poet and the inequality of his verse, the 'Hesperides' will still be cherished among our most precious lyrical treasures. Herrick is eminent among those poets of society whose art has a special charm irrespective of its representative or historical interest. That quality which is universally recognised as grace, undefinable but unmistakable as an aroma, seldom deserts him even when his theme is the coarsest. In choice simplicity of language and orderly freedom of versification few of our highest poets have equalled him. These merits are most observable in the poems that approach nearest to classic models; as, for example, the idyll of 'Corinna's going a-maying,' and the elegiac verses 'To Perilla;'^{*} but his least studied

^{*} The description of morning-dew in the former,

'Take no care
For jewels for your gown or hair .

studied effusions bear marks of the same training. Take, for instance, these lines 'To Dianeine : '—

' Sweet, be not proud of those two eyes
Which, star-like, sparkle in their skies ;
Nor be you proud, that you can see
All hearts your captives,—yours yet free :
Be you not proud of that rich hair,
Which wantons with the love-sick air ;
Whenas that ruby which you wear,
Sunk from the tip of your soft ear,
Will last to be a precious stone
When all your world of beauty's gone.'

In his erotics, which form nine-tenths of the 'Hesperides,' tender feeling and delicate fancy are too often tainted with an impurity that it is difficult to eliminate, but there are a few like the following, which contain not a word that could be wished away :—

' THE BRACELET.

' Why I tie about thy wrist,
Julia, this my silken twist,
For what other reason is't,
But to show thee how, in part,
Thou my pretty captive art?—
But thy bond-slave is my heart.
'Tis but silk that bindeth thee,—
Snap the thread, and thou art free ;
But 'tis otherwise with me :
I am bound, and fast bound, so
That from thee I cannot go :
If I could, I would not so !'

Although as a painter of manners Herrick has left no single sketch so complete as Suckling's famous 'Ballad on a Wedding,' his profuse allusions to contemporary customs, games, articles of dress, furniture, and viands, afford ample materials from which a picture of his times may be constructed. The lewdness that had been fatal to him under the Commonwealth was no doubt the ground of his popularity under the Restoration ; a popularity to which no consideration of the obligations involved in his calling can be supposed to have offered any hindrance. His

The childhood of the day hath kept
Against you come some orient pearls unwept ;'

and the phrase applied to death in the latter,

' The cool and silent shades of sleep,'

may serve as illustrations of his exquisite diction.

poetry thus acquires an historical significance greater than would otherwise belong to it.

The excess of the carnal over the spiritual element in the prevalent conception of love, may explain the degeneration of feeling into sentiment, and of fancy into ornament, that characterises the erotic poetry of the Restoration. Sedley, Rochester, and Etherege scarcely pretend to passion, and are content to display their skill in concealing its absence under the glitter of verbal smartness. One unique example, Waller's charming poem on a girdle, redeems the cycle of contemporary love-verse from a wholesale charge of insincerity :—

‘ That which her slender waist confined
Shall now my joyful temples bind ;
No monarch but would give his crown
His arms might do what this has done.

‘ It was my heaven's extremest sphere,
The pale which held that lovely dear.
My joy, my grief, my hope, my love
Did all within this circle move !

‘ A narrow compass ! and yet there
Dwelt all that's good, and all that's fair ;
Give me but what this riband bound,
Take all the rest the sun goes round.’

Lord Dorset's ‘ Phillis, for shame ! ’ has also an echo of truth in its tone of grave remonstrance with a half-hearted mistress, while his spirited lyric, ‘ To all you Ladies now on Land,’ written on the eve of a naval engagement with the Dutch, affords a rare glimpse of the healthy English temper which not all the corruption of Court-life and the decadence of statesmanly honour under the later Stuarts had been able to vitiate. Of the greatest poets of the age we find but scanty record in the ‘ Lyra.’ Milton is wholly absent. Dryden is only represented by two frigid pieces of sentiment and one fine fragment, ‘ Fortune,’ which scarcely belongs to the category of *vers de société*. Cowley, however, appears to better advantage in his graceful poem, ‘ A Wish,’ wherein the ideal of rural contentment, so dear to the national imagination, reappears under conditions as little favourable as possible to its birth and culture.

The influence that has left most trace upon the social poetry of the next generation is that of the sovereignty which France imposed upon our morals and taste at the very time when we had dethroned her from the empire of land and sea. The prevalence of a cynical, selfish view of life, of a practical contempt veiled under a theoretical reverence for virtue, the superiority of wit to truth,

truth, of manner to matter, are salient features in the lighter literature of the time. The frivolity and caprice of fashion which Addison and Steele unweariedly commemorated in easy and graceful prose, as if the scope of human activity contained no other theme of equal interest, were immortalised by Prior and Pope in airy and sparkling verse. Foreign words and phrases, appropriate to their subject, then openly intruded into the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare, and have left an impression of affectation and sickliness upon a literature otherwise manly and sound. We shall be understood as referring only to its intellectual characteristics; sound, in a moral sense, being the last epithet that could justly be applied to such a writer as Prior. He represents but too faithfully the standard of contemporary society. The duplicity of eminent statesmen and officials, the tolerance extended in the highest circles to the grosser vices, and the lewdness accepted as indispensable to the attractions of fiction and the drama, form a dark background to the glories which science and philosophy, strategy and policy, have shed upon our 'Augustan' age. The shadow falls upon the career and is reflected in the verse of Prior. Shifty and brilliant in public, licentious and urbane in private life, he wrote as he lived. Wit and worldly wisdom, the Epicurean's creed and the sensualist's experience, are embodied in lyrics worthy of Horace, and epigrams only excelled by Pope. 'Dear Chloe,' 'The Merchant to secure his treasure,' and 'The Secretary,' are of course included in the 'Lyra;' but we wonder at the omission of a poem so characteristic of the writer's elegant insincerity as the lines addressed to a lady who broke off an argument which she had commenced with him. The following are amongst its best verses:—

' In the dispute whate'er I said,
 My heart was by my tongue belied;
 And in my looks you might have read
 How much I argued on your side.

' You, far from danger as from fear,
 Might have sustain'd an open fight:
 For seldom your opinions err;
 Your eyes are always in the right.

* * * *

' Alas! not hoping to subdue,
 I only to the fight aspir'd;
 To keep the beauteous foe in view
 Was all the glory I desir'd.

* * * *

' Deeper

‘ Deeper to wound, she shuns the fight :
 She drops her arms, to gain the field :
 Secures her conquest by her flight :
 And triumphs, when she seems to yield.’

The admirable burlesque of Boileau’s ‘ Ode on the Taking of Namur ’ might well have been added to the political poems in Mr. Locker’s collection, and the select epigrams which illustrate the philosophy of ‘ Carpe diem ’ include none happier than this paraphrase of the kindred axiom, ‘ Quid sit futurum cras fuge quærere : ’—

‘ For what to-morrow shall disclose
 May spoil what you to-night propose ;
 England may change or Chloe stray :
 Love and life are for to-day.’

Prior’s miscellaneous poems, the outcome of a rapid and shrewd observation incessantly at work during a vicissitous career as man of letters, diplomatist, placeman, and pensioner, contain many a lifelike sketch of the phenomena and characters of his time ; of the vices in which passion ran riot, and the follies in which *ennui* sought distraction ; of the empty braggarts who set up for wits, and the painted hags who posed as beauties. If his satires upon the aristocratic world portray its worst side and excite our disgust, his familiar epistles incidentally disclose another side which deserves our admiration. The relation between men of rank and men of genius, heretofore one of ostentatious protection on the part of the patron and obsequious dependence on that of the client, could scarcely have been in a healthier condition than when Prior, Pope, and Swift associated with Oxford and Bolingbroke, Addison and Steele with Halifax and Somers ; when mental equality effaced social inequality, and an honourable interchange was effected between intelligent sympathy and well-judging generosity on the one side, and self-respectful friendship and uncovetous gratitude on the other.

The miscellaneous poems of Pope are so familiarly known that there is no need to dwell upon their abundant illustrations of contemporary manners. Though properly excluded from the ‘ Lyra ’ by their length and elaboration, the ‘ Rape of the Lock ’ and some of the satires are *vers de société* of the highest order. The impression which they leave differs little from that conveyed by the poems of Prior as to the moral unsoundness underlying the intellectual brilliance of the age : a condition to which the idiosyncrasy of the poet, after the light recently thrown upon it by Mr. Elwin, must be admitted to afford a parallel. In the verse of Pope, however, as in that of

Prior and the less polished but not less vigorous verse of Swift, there are distinct signs of healthier influences being at work. The standard of mental and moral culture which men demanded of women, and women were willing to attain, must have risen considerably above that of the previous generation,* before a writer so conversant with the world as Pope would have expected a female audience for his second 'Essay,' or a wit like Swift have dreamed of addressing his mistress in the strain of the birthday-lines 'To Stella.' Gross on the one hand and fulsome on the other as the tone of 'Augustan' literature often is when its theme is womanhood, the height to which some of its best writers show themselves capable of rising marks a sensible approach towards that ideal of sexual relations—

'Self-reverent each and reverencing each,
Distinct in individualities'—

which it has been the proud boast of our own day to realize more approximately.

Indications of the effect produced by the great constitutional crisis through which the nation had recently passed, of a diffusion of sympathy due to the unanimity with which liberty had been welcomed, and the need of maintaining it against a common foe, of a relaxation of the barriers between social grades, are perceptible in such poems as Swift's 'Hamilton's Bawn' and 'Mrs. Harris's Petition.' His representation of the footing upon which masters stood with their servants, Prior's portraiture in 'Down Hall' of the good fellowship subsisting between townsmen and rustics, and Addison's sketch in 'Sir Roger de Coverley' of the squire's relations with his tenants, point, each in a different direction, to the prevalence of a national good-humour. How 'slow to move,' on the other hand, the English temperament has always been in obliterating class-distinctions and removing admitted anomalies, the two poems just named illustrate with equal clearness. The social status of the clergy, as Macaulay from ample materials describes it to have been in the reign of Charles II.,† cannot have sensibly improved at a time when Swift represents a chaplain in a noble family as destined for marriage with the housemaid, a captain of cavalry as taking precedence of a Dean at dinner and setting the table in a roar by ridicule of his cloth.

As the eighteenth century advances the fervour of political feeling became prominent in its *vers de société*. Lady Mary Wortley Montague's defence of Sir Robert Walpole ('Such were

* Compare Macaulay's 'History of England' (New Edition), i. pp. 192-3.

† 'Hist. Eng.' (New Edition), i. p. 160.

the lively Eyes'), and Garrick's 'Advice to the Marquis of Rockingham,' may pair with Sir C. Hanbury Williams' bitter diatribes upon Pulteney, as average specimens of their class, the fault of both the praise and the blame being that they are too obviously personal to be historically trustworthy. The blind violence of party-spirit in this age, and the difficulty that a statesman had to meet in obtaining a fair trial or a candid estimate of his policy, are excellently portrayed in the following stanzas from the pen of a neutral bystander whose name has not been handed down to us:—

- ' Know, minister! whate'er you plan,—
 Whate'er your politics, great man,
 You must expect detraction;
 Though of clean hand and honest heart,
 Your greatness must expect to smart
 Beneath the rod of faction.
- ' Like blockheads eager in dispute,
 The mob, that many-headed brute,
 All bark and bawl together;
 For continental measures some,
 And some cry, keep your troops at home,
 And some are pleased with neither.
- ' Lo, a militia guards the land!
 Thousands applaud your saving hand,
 And hail you their protector;
 While thousands censure and defame,
 And brand you with the hideous name
 Of state-quack and projector.
- ' Corruption's influence you despise;—
 These lift your glory to the skies,
 Those pluck your glory down:
 So strangely different is the note
 Of scoundrels that have right to vote,
 And scoundrels that have none.'

The prevalence of drinking-songs among Georgian lyrics has an obviously political connection. With a Pretender Charles Stuart over the water, and a Patriot Jack Wilkes at home, no sturdy Constitutionalist wanted an excuse or lost an opportunity of celebrating 'Church and King' in toast and chorus. There is an echo of their hearty English voices in such a rough carol as the following:—

- ' Then him let's commend
 That is true to his friend
 And the Church and the Senate would settle;

Who delights not in blood,
But draws when he should,
And bravely stands brunt to the battle.

‘ Who rails not at Kings,
Nor at politick things,
Nor treason will speak when he’s mellow,
But takes a full glass
To his country’s success,—
This, this is an honest brave fellow.’

The national prejudice against the Scotch, which was inflamed by the Jacobite rebellions and envenomed by the administration of Lord Bute, lends a spice of malice to Goldsmith’s kindly satire in ‘The Retaliation’ and ‘The Haunch of Venison,’ and even ruffles the urbane temper of Lord Chesterfield in ‘Lord Islay’s Garden.’ Its manifestation among less restrained writers, such as the author of the lines on the construction of the Adelphi Terrace, is all but malignant:—

‘ Four Scotchmen, by the name of Adams,
Who keep their coaches for their madams,
Quoth John, in sulky mood, to Thomas,
Have stole the very river from us.
‘ O Scotland ! long it has been said
Thy teeth are sharp for English bread ;
What ! seize our bread and water too,
And use us worse than jailers do !
’Tis true ’tis hard ! ’tis hard ’tis true !
‘ Ye friends of George and friends of James,
Envy us not our river Thames :
The Princess, fond of raw-boned faces,
May give you all our posts and places ;
Take all—to gratify your pride,
But dip your oatmeal in the Clyde.’

That heartiness in love as well as hate, the frank, homely simplicity which are among the pleasantest traits of the eighteenth-century John Bull, as we recognise him in the novels of Fielding and Smollett, find genial expression in the verse of — Collins. It is strange enough that the author of such capital verse as ‘The Golden Farmer,’ ‘Good old Things,’ and ‘To-morrow,’ should, after the lapse of a century, be so little known that one can only distinguish him from his greater contemporary by leaving a blank for his Christian name.* Here again the rural ideal shows itself, and in the most natural form,

* A contemporary namesake, Mr. Mortimer Collins, has identified him with John Collins, a Birmingham bookseller, journalist, and actor.

affording the strongest contrast to the unreality of artifice and sentiment to which Shenstone and his fellows had reduced 'Arcadian' poetry. In skilful hands, however, this verse, insipid as it is when its theme is love, and maudlin when devoted to elegiacs upon furred and feathered pets, does not want certain compensating graces of style and rhythm. An example offers in Gray's lines 'On the Death of a favourite Cat,' the elegant humour of which Horace Walpole closely approaches in his 'Entail,' a fable of a butterfly. Sentiment passes into the region of feeling with Cowper, upon whose tender heart, and keen though clouded intelligence, the contemporary revival of religion was efficacious alike for good and evil.

If the atmospheric clearance effected by the great revolutionary storm wherein the eighteenth century closed had less marked an influence upon *vers de société* than any other province of poetry, it was doubtless because the class which comprehended their principal writers was the first to resist the political and social changes thus inaugurated. But the process of resistance itself evoked an outburst of energy which has left its precipitate in the most spirited satire perhaps ever written in English. The drollery of invention, the deftness of wit, which Frere and Canning infused into 'The Anti-Jacobin,' must have gone far, one would think, to assuage the smart of the wounds inflicted by their shafts. 'The needy Knife-grinder,' 'The Student of Göttingen,' and 'The Loves of the Triangles,' have, for three-quarters of a century at all events, been the common property of lovers of laughter to whatever party belonging. The two first-named and other specimens of Canning's vein of comedy find a worthy place in Mr. Locker's miscellany, but are too well known to justify extraction. Though wit and humour were the literary weapons which the Tory champions found fittest for political warfare, the conflict both to them and their opponents was none the less one of grim earnest. The inevitable effect of this earnestness on both parties was a relinquishment of conventionality and affectation, a return to nature and simplicity. The poets who drew their original inspiration from Liberal ideas—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Southey, and Landor—were the first to indicate the healthy change; but once manifested, its spread was contagious, nor in those who experienced it did any reactionary current ever induce a relapse. The Tory Scott is as clearly under its influence as the Republican Shelley, and its sway over a poet so unspiritual as Moore is potent enough to colour his sentiment with an emotional tinge. The sham Arcadia has vanished, and men and women, no longer masking as nymphs and swains, are clothed

clothed and in their right mind. The literary properties which had endured so long a tenure of favour are utterly discredited, and, except in the province of burlesque, it might be difficult to find a poem of the present century that contains an invocation to the Muse or a reference to Cupid's dart. The languid, frigid tones of the eighteenth-century lover are exchanged for accents so suffused with tender feeling as Landor's, or so charged with fervid passion as those of Byron. Compare any love-poem of the three preceding generations with the following of Landor's, and the difference in kind is at once apparent:—

‘Iantho! you are called to cross the sea!
 A path forbidden *me*!
 Remember, while the Sun his blessing sheds
 Upon the mountain-heads,
 How often we have watcht him laying down
 His brow, and dropt our own
 Against each other's, and how faint and short
 And sliding the support!
 What will succeed it now? Mine is unblest,
 Ianthe! nor will rest
 But in the very thought that swells with pain.
 O bid me hope again!
 O give me back what Earth, what (without you)
 Not Heaven itself can do;
 One of the golden days that we have past;
 And let it be my last!
 Or else the gift would be, however sweet,
 Fragile and incomplete.’

‘Proud word you never spake, but you will speak
 Four not exempt from pride some future day.
 Resting on one white hand a warm wet check
 Over my open volume, you will say,
 “This man loved me!”—then rise and trip away.’

Perhaps no poet of the revolutionised *régime* displays its characteristics more clearly than Landor. He brought, indeed, the courtly manners and graceful scholarship of the previous generation to clothe the thoughts and feelings of his own; but his fine perception enabled him to discard all that was out of keeping, and his thorough saturation with the modern spirit is always apparent, however antique may be the form adopted.

The chief poets of the century were usually occupied with enterprises of greater pith than the composition of *vers de société*, and their names rarely figure in Mr. Locker's catalogue; but the impulse that first animated them has extended to their lightest efforts, and Coleridge's ‘Something childish’ and Wordsworth's
 ‘Dear

‘Dear Child of Nature’ bear the date of their production on their face as manifestly as ‘The Ancient Mariner’ or ‘Tintern Abbey.’ The *vers de société* of their minor contemporaries are stamped with the same impression. Charles Lamb’s quaint tenderness is well represented by his ‘Hester,’ and Leigh Hunt’s playful archness by his rondo, ‘Jenny kissed me.’ Peacock’s ‘Love and Age,’ which we regret not having space to extract, is another exquisite example of the modern infusion of feeling into a theme on which a writer of the previous century would have been merely rhapsodical. What traces of the old school of sentiment are still left appear in the smooth grace of Rogers and the faded prettiness of William Spencer, while the unrefined humour which accompanied it finds its last representative in Captain Morris, in whose lyrics the ‘man about town’ of the Regency lounges and swaggers to the life.

In that brighter vein of humour which is little affected by social changes, and sparkles freely under all conditions in impromptu and epigram, few professional jesters have attained more distinction than one of the gravest of functionaries, Lord Chancellor Erskine. Among the best of his recorded verses is that composed while listening to the tedious argument of a counsel which detained him on the woolsack until past the hour when he was engaged to a turtle dinner in the City. Being observed busily writing, he was supposed to be taking a note of the cause, but Lord Holland, who caught sight of his note-book, found that it contained the following:—

‘Oh that thy cursed balderdash
Were swiftly changed to callipash!
Thy bands so stiff and snug toupee
Corrected were to callipee;
That since I can nor dine nor sup,
I might arise and eat thee up!’ *

The energy of the poetic reformation sensibly abated with the growth of the century, and a period of conventionality ensued, which was marked by a copious increase of ‘boudoir’ literature, as flimsy in texture as it was showy in pattern. In the hands of one gifted writer, however, whose capacity for higher effort was perhaps thwarted in its development by a premature death, this tawdry literature attained a temporary lustre. The sententiousness of Crabbe, the romanticism of Scott, and the sentiment of Byron, seem to have been Praed’s literary nurture; but he brought wit, observation, scholarship, and experience to assimilate and modify them. His early sketches remind us of the first, his legends of

* Lord Campbell’s ‘Lives of the Lord Chancellors,’ vol. vi. p. 659.

the second, his lyrics of the third ; but in each there are features which do not belong to the original, and distinguish the artist from the imitator. In the style which he subsequently perfected, antithetical in construction and pointed in phrasing, pungent in satire or playful in raillery, always clear and exquisitely versified, he has probably never had a superior. No observer of the outer side of life has painted more finished pictures than his of a London drawing-room—the manners and customs of well-bred English men and women between 1825 and 1835. Of a society which had outlived its appetite for vice without acquiring a healthy taste, which still maintained the institutions of the duel and the gaming-house, which had worshipped Brummell and was ready to worship D'Orsay, which had originated the exclusiveness and still upheld the tyranny of Almack's, in which such a creation as 'Pelham' could be set up as a typical gentleman, in which the mediævalism of Scott was more admired than his characterisation, and the introspection of Byron than his passion—of such a society Praed was a fitly representative poet. The licentious tone which had prevailed during the Regency having died out of its own excess, left behind it a prevailing taint of unearnestness which found expression in mere frivolity. Infected with the fashionable taste, yet half-ashamed of it, Praed laughs gently in his sleeve at the follies which he gravely affects to chronicle. His 'Good-night to the Season' (which, to our surprise, Mr. Locker does not extract) and 'Our Ball' are masterpieces in this mock-serious vein. 'A Letter of Advice' from a young lady to her friend on the choice of a husband, is less veiled in its satire. How humorously the sham-romantic ideals of friendship and love, destined to extinction in a *mariage de convenance*, are ridiculed in these verses :—

' O think of our favourite cottage,
 And think of our dear "Lalla Rookh" !
 How we shared with the milkmaids their pottage,
 And drank of the stream from the brook ;
 How fondly our loving lips falter'd
 " What further can grandeur bestow ? "
 My heart is the same ;—is yours alter'd ?
 My own Araminta, say " No ! "
 ' We parted ! but sympathy's fetters
 Reach far over valley and hill ;
 I muse o'er your exquisite letters,
 And feel that your heart is mine still ;
 And he who would share it with me, love,—
 The richest of treasures below,—
 If he's not what Orlando should be, love,
 My own Araminta, say " No ! "

' If

‘ If he wears a top-boot in his wooing,
 If he comes to you riding a cob,
 If he talks of his baking or brewing,
 If he puts up his feet on the hob,
 If he ever drinks port after dinner,
 If his brow or his breeding is low,
 If he calls himself “ Thompson ” or “ Skinner,”
 My own Araminta, say “ No ! ” ’

Praed’s skill in pasquinade found ample scope for its exercise in the arena of politics. His sympathies, after his twenty-ninth year, were avowedly enlisted on the side of the Tories in their resistance to the march of innovation, and his winged arrows of wit were gallantly, if unavailingly, employed in their service. The only specimen of his political verse given in the ‘ Lyra ’ is the piece addressed to the Speaker on seeing him asleep in the (Reformed) House of Commons. The two last stanzas are the best :—

‘ Sleep, Mr. Speaker ! Harvey will soon
 Move to abolish the sun and the moon :
 Hume will no doubt be taking the sense
 Of the House on a question of sixteenpence.
 Statesmen will howl, and patriots bray—
 Sleep, Mr. Speaker, sleep while you may !

‘ Sleep, Mr. Speaker, and dream of the time
 When loyalty was not quite a crime,
 When Grant was a pupil in Canning’s school,
 And Palmerston fancied Wood a fool.
 Lord ! how principles pass away—
 Sleep, Mr. Speaker, sleep while you may ! ’

The conflict of parties to which these verses refer inspired the worthiest ambitions and absorbed the best energies that society was then putting forth. Wit and humour know no political monopoly, and Praed was doubtless the first to admire the spirited sallies of satire that issued from the Liberal camp, during the agitations which preceded the enactments of Catholic Emancipation and Reform. Moore’s ‘ King Crack and his Idols,’ Macaulay’s ‘ Cambridge Election Ballad,’ and Peacock’s ‘ Fate of a Broom ’ have an ingenuity in their caricature and an absence of malice about their hearty invective that bespeak the writers’ training in the school of the ‘ Anti-Jacobin ’ swordsmen.

The *bourgeois* tone inevitably attending the influx of a democratic wave makes its presence felt in the *vers de société* of James Smith, Barham, and Hood, where puns and slang are too often substituted for wit. To Hood’s poetic gifts, however, the extracts given in the ‘ Lyra ’ do scanty justice. He had a true
 grace

grace and fancy, of which they afford no indication. The extracts given from Barham do him more than justice, since they convey no idea of the coarseness which was a decided drawback to his fun. A trace of this mars one's enjoyment of some of Thackeray's genuinely humorous pieces. Its worst example is 'The White Squall,' which describes a passage across the Channel in language as unrefined as it is graphic, but the touch of tenderness in the closing verse redeems it:—

‘ And when, its force expended,
The harmless storm was ended,
And as the sunrise splendid
Came blushing o’er the sea,
I thought, as day was breaking,
My little girls were waking
And smiling and making
A prayer at home for me.’

It is noticeable how much less pronounced Thackeray's cynical tone is in his verses than in the province of fiction wherein his chief laurels have been won. The interfusion of pathos and humour above exemplified is often skilfully contrived, especially in the 'Ballad of Bouillabaisse' and 'The cane-bottomed Chair.' Of his purely tender mood, 'At the Church-gate,' the reverie of a lover who sees his lady enter the minster, is a delicate example. A more familiar chord is struck in 'Vanitas Vanitatum : '—

‘ O vanity of vanities !
How wayward the decrees of Fate are ;
How very weak the very wise,
How very small the very great are ! . . .
‘ Though thrice a thousand years are past
Since David's son, the sad and splendid,
The weary King Ecclesiast,
Upon his awful tablets penned it,—
‘ Methinks the text is never stale,
And life is every day renewing
Fresh comments on the old, old tale
Of Folly, Fortune, Glory, Ruin.’

The only other representative poet of society belonging to our own time whose name occurs in Mr. Locker's volume is Arthur Clough, of whom 'Spectator ab extra' is a fairly characteristic lyric. It affords a glimpse of that deep-searching scepticism which now threatens to penetrate the most cherished of our social institutions, a tone of that deep-seated earnestness veiled in irony by which more than one contemporary teacher has won the public ear.

Such

Such are a few of the side-lights of history which a rapid run through the pages of the 'Lyra Elegantiarum' admits of our discerning. Mr. Locker does not include any living poets in his list, nor could he have done so without heading it with his own name. Though far from being a mere poet of society, he has devoted himself so steadily to the *rôle* of its lyrist, and as yet maintained his pre-eminence against all subsequent competitors, that no survey of the subject would be complete without some notice of his distinguishing traits. To estimate them fairly involves a consideration of the prevailing tone of contemporary society.

The observation long ago made upon us, that we 'take our pleasures sadly, after the manner of the nation,' may have been intended as a reproach, but we have no reason to be ashamed of it. It is assuredly as true of us now as it ever was. The moods of frivolity in which we occasionally indulge seem to be borrowed from the Continent, and are as transient as other imported fashions. The shadow of the end and 'the burden of the mystery' are for ever recurring to our minds, not to extinguish our mirth, but to control its manifestations, and suggest the reflections which it is only madness to ignore. That the tendency to dwell upon the serious aspect of life has been for some years past upon the increase, we think there can be no doubt. The growing appetite for scientific, metaphysical, and theological speculation, no longer confined to the learned, but shared by all the educated classes; the interest now taken in political, educational, and sanitary questions by the sex hitherto indifferent to study, and satisfied with supremacy in accomplishments; the grave, even sombre cast of the poetry in the first or second rank which has been most widely read, 'The Idylls of the King,' 'The Ring and the Book,' 'Aurora Leigh,' 'The Spanish Gipsy,' 'The Earthly Paradise,' 'Atalanta in Calydon;' the perpetual contrasts of tragedy with comedy offered in the pages of our most popular novelists—George Eliot, Thackeray, Dickens, Mr. Trollope, Mr. W. Collins—and the tendency which the greatest of them display to the manufacture of 'novels with a purpose;' the successful cultivation of high art by such painters as Mr. Watts, Mr. Leighton, Mr. Holman Hunt, and Mr. Poynter; the long popularity of the 'domestic drama,' and the reaction which the degradation of farce into burlesque has created in favour of classical comedy: all these are signs in the same direction. Not, indeed, that the moralist, *pur et simple*, has a better chance of obtaining an audience in this than in a less serious age. We want our pills, and are even anxious to take them, but it is indispensable that they should be silvered.

A writer

A writer who, like Mr. Locker, comes forward in a jester's motley, but continually betrays the preacher's cassock beneath it, and is gifted with a vein of pathos that dominates without depressing his sense of humour, may fitly appeal to the sympathy of a society thus predisposed. The six editions of his 'London Lyrics,' a number reached by no other volume of *vers de société* in our time, attest that he has thus appealed with success. Of such of his poems as are purely pathetic, we do not propose to speak. 'Implora pace,' 'Her quiet Resting-place,' and some others, are expressions of personal feeling that no one would think of classing in the category to which the majority of his lyrics belong. The characteristic aroma of the latter cannot better be described than in the writer's own words :—

'The wisely-gay, as years advance,
Are gaily wise. Whate'er befall
We'll laugh at folly, whether seen
Beneath a chimney or a steeple,—
At yours, at mine; our own, I mean,
As well as that of other people.

'I'm fond of fun, the mental dew
Where wit and truth and ruth are blent. . . .

'I've laughed to hide the tear I shed;
As when the Jester's bosom swells,
And mournfully he shakes his head,
We hear the jingle of his bells.'

A cheerful philosopher, persuaded that the destiny of the world is in better hands than his own, yet interested in all that concerns it, he devotes to its advantage, by way either of sympathy or satire, the resources of a genuine poetic faculty. The gifts which make up his credentials have been singly possessed by one or other of his predecessors, some of whom have added qualifications that he lacks, but none, we think, have equalled him in combining so much of what is excellent with so little an admixture of what is inferior. The writers of whom he most frequently reminds us are Herrick, Prior, Praed, and Thackeray. By the first he is surpassed in delicacy of fancy and lyrical skill, but he has equal tenderness and simplicity, and excels in humour and refinement. The humour both of Prior and Thackeray is more genial, but it is less refined than Mr. Locker's: Praed's wit is unapproached by him, but he adds the pathos which both Prior and Praed want, and the music and finish of which Thackeray has little. In irony, whether playful or earnest, we do not know his superior, the satirists who usually employ it being too apt to be either cynical or ponderous. The best-known
example

example of his peculiar manner is the poem on a Skull, but the same blending of a sardonic with an emotional vein characterises 'The Skeleton in the Cupboard,' from which we extract one or two verses:—

- ' We all have secrets : you have one
Which mayn't be quite your charming spouse's ;
We all lock up a skeleton
In some grim chamber of our houses.
- ' Your neighbour Gay, that jovial wight,
As Dives rich and brave as Hector,—
Poor Gay steals twenty times a night,
On shaking knees, to see his spectre.
- ' Old Dives fears a pauper fate,
So hoarding is his ruling passion ;—
Some gloomy souls anticipate
A waistcoat, straiter than the fashion !
- ' Childless she pines, that lonely wife,
And secret tears are bitter shedding ;—
Hector may tremble all his life,
And die,—but not of that he's dreading.
- ' Ah me, the World ! How fast it spins !
The beldams dance, the caldron bubbles ;
They shriek, and stir it for our sins,
And we must drain it for our troubles.
- ' We toil, we groan :—the cry for love
Mounts upward from the seething city,
And yet I know we have above
A Father, infinite in pity.'

His dexterity in making the jester's privilege a cloak for the moralist is shown in the poem of 'Beggars,' which analyses in a parable the selfishness that lurks under the shelter of science ; a similar service being rendered to the irrationalists in the piece called 'An old Buffer.' Of his playful-pathetic mood, 'To my Grandmother' is one of the most charming examples:—

- ' This relative of mine,
Was she seventy and nine
When she died ?
By the canvas may be seen
How she look'd at seventeen,
As a bride.
- ' Beneath a summer tree
Her maiden reverie
Has a charm ;
Her ringlets are in taste ;
What an arm ! and what a waist
For an arm !

' With

‘ With her bridal-wreath, bouquet,
Lace, farthingale, and gay
Falbala,—

Were Romney’s limning true,
What a lucky dog were you,
Grandpapa !

‘ Her lips are sweet as love ;
They are parting ! Do they move ?
Are they dumb ?

Her eyes are blue, and beam
Beseechingly, and seem
To say, “ Come.”

‘ That good-for-nothing Time
Has a confidence sublime !

When I first
Saw this lady, in my youth,
Her winters had, forsooth,
Done their worst.

‘ Ah, perishable clay !
Her charms had dropt away
One by one :
But if she heaved a sigh
With a burthen, it was, “ Thy
Will be done.”

‘ In travail, as in tears,
With the fardel of her years
Overprest,—
In mercy she was borne
Where the weary and the worn
Are at rest.’

‘ Gerty’s Glove ’ and ‘ Geraldine and I ’ are favourable specimens of the dainty grace which he can throw into a love-lyric ; ‘ The Bear-pit ’ and ‘ My First-born,’ of the genuine fun which he can extract from the ordinary incidents of life. Clearness and simplicity of language, polish and fluency of versification, are qualities that belong to his poems generally. He usually adopts a tone of kindly banter that diffuses itself in *nuances* of expression, and avoids epigram as too harsh a medium, but now and then knots his lash and leaves a mark not easily to be effaced. For such a quatrain and couplet as the following it is scarcely hazardous to predict proverbiality :—

‘ They eat and drink and scheme and plod
And go to church on Sunday ;
And many are afraid of God
And more of Mrs. Grundy.’

‘ The

‘ The Cockney met in Middlesex or Surrey
Is often cold and always in a hurry.’

Bringing the powers which these poems illustrate to bear upon the themes most likely to interest London society, the scenes and figures most familiar to its denizens, the love-histories transacted in their midst, the pleasures they most eagerly pursue, the sorrows they are too prone to neglect, Mr. Locker has condensed within one little volume what is not only accepted by his contemporaries, but we doubt not will be regarded by future historians, as a vivid and varied picture of Victorian life and manners. This position we think is secured to it by its evident freedom from caricature, a merit so seldom belonging to the observations of an every-day humourist. The sympathy between class and class, which is one of the healthiest symptoms of our time, is legibly reflected in his verse. The purity of tone that marks it may be primarily a personal trait; but we are convinced that this, also, represents the dominant spirit of English society, notwithstanding the temporary notoriety of that small section which battens upon the literature of diseased or lawless lust.

Among contemporary writers of *vers de société*, although their name is legion, we are acquainted with but two whose claims to compare with Mr. Locker admit of discussion. Priority of appearance, and the respect due to his exquisite scholarship, entitle Mr. C. J. Calverley to the first consideration. If, however, the view we have taken be correct as to the qualifications which modern society demands from its representative poet, he is *ipso facto* disqualified for the office. As a mere humourist, it would be difficult to find his match; but he has chosen to be no more. We say chosen, because out of two volumes of verse, a single poem, ‘Dover to Munich,’ contains a few stanzas that evince the writer’s capacity for treating a serious theme with reverence and grace. With this exception, his original poems are confined to a series of burlesques and parodies. Some of the latter are infinitely droll, especially the imitation of Mr. Browning’s mannerism in ‘Cock and Bull,’ and that which travesties Mr. Swinburne’s sham-antique ballads to the burden of ‘Butter and eggs and a pound of cheese.’ A spice of intentional ridicule such as is here infused seems always requisite to make parody piquant. For lack of this, other of Mr. Calverley’s clever echoes are comparatively weak, no element inhering in the subject which could avail to render it absurd, even if the writer intended so to make it. The mock-heroic stanzas on ‘Beer’ and ‘The Schoolmaster abroad’ strike us as the best of his burlesques. Beyond incidental illustrations of undergraduate life,

life, and the superficial traits of London humour that meet a passer's eye, these volumes contribute nothing to the poetry of modern manners. Regretting that Mr. Calverley is not animated by a worthier ambition, we must needs take him at his own valuation; and if he is content to do no more than amuse our idle hours, it would be ungrateful to deny that his verses have a *raison d'être*.

Mr. Austin Dobson evidently aspires to a higher place, and his recent volume of collected poems is one of unusual promise. Although his manner has obviously been coloured by the study of Mr. Locker, he is far from being merely an imitator, and in the faculty of pictorial expression he even excels his master. The following extract from a poem illustrating the condition of France under Louis Quinze is in his best style:—

‘ For these were yet the days of halcyon weather,
A marten's summer, when the nation swam,
Aimless and easy as a wayward feather,
Down the full tide of jest and epigram;—
A careless time, when France's bluest blood
Beat to the tune of, “ After us the flood.” ’

Occasional phrases, such as describe the engraving

‘ In *shadowy sanguine* stipple-traced
By Bartolozzi,’

and the signs of a coquette's old age in

‘ The coming of the crow's feet
And the backward turn of beaux' feet,’

are very happily rendered. Where the writer chiefly fails as an artist is in over-elaboration. His portraits of ‘ A Gentleman and a Gentlewoman of the Old School,’ for example, would be more lifelike if the strokes were fewer and stronger. Now and then, too, his ornaments are strangely out of keeping, as when he describes the sad gentle face of an aged lady surmounted by

‘ a coif whose crest
Like Hector's horse-plume towered.’ (!)

His most successful effort in portraiture, we think, is ‘ Avice,’ where the handling throughout is extremely delicate. Here are two verses:—

‘ When you enter in a room,
It is stirred
With the wayward, flashing flight
Of a bird;

And

And you speak—and bring with you
 Leaf and sun-ray, bud and blue,
 And the wind-breath and the dew,
 At a word. . . .

‘ You have just their eager, quick
 “Airs de tête,”
 All their flush and fever-heat
 When elate ;
 Every bird-like nod and beck,
 And a bird’s own curve of neck
 When she gives a little peck
 To her mate.’

Some power of humorous characterisation is shown in ‘Tu Quoque, a Conservatory Idyll,’ modelled after the duologue of Horace and Lydia, and ‘An Autumn Idyll,’ an adaptation of Theocritus. Both evince skill in preserving the antique form while fitting it to modern usages, yet avoiding the vulgarity which is the opprobrium of ‘classical burlesque.’

As a poet of society Mr. Dobson’s gifts differ little in kind from Mr. Locker’s, but they are not employed with equal judgment. ‘The Virtuoso,’ for example, an ironic study of æsthetic heartlessness, is so direct in its application as to verge on caricature, and loses much of the force which a satirist like Mr. Locker would have thrown into the form of suggestion. Playfulness and pathos, again, though Mr. Dobson has both at command, are not so subtly blended in ‘Pot-pourri’ or ‘A Gage d’Amour’ as in his predecessor’s ‘Pilgrims of Pall Mall,’ and ‘My Grandmother.’ In point of technical skill the younger writer has much to learn. The light tripping metres, which both are fond of using, will not bear the weight of such heavy words as Mr. Dobson sometimes thrusts upon them.

The general impression produced by these ‘Vignettes’ is very favourable to the writer’s mental attitude. Their keen and sprightly criticism of men and manners is unspoilt by flippancy, their healthy appreciation of life’s purest pleasures is tempered by kindly concern for the lot of those who miss them. With a few exceptions, his observations strike us as made from a distance rather than on the spot, by one who has felt more than he has seen, and read more than he has thought. The aspect of modern life which such a spectator seizes is necessarily limited, but, as far as Mr. Dobson’s field of vision extends, the report is trustworthy and encouraging.

The *primâ facie* reflection suggested by an historic retrospect like the foregoing may probably be, how little either the optimist

or the pessimist can find in it that makes in favour of his creed. To the lyrists of society, whether one or three centuries ago, human nature seems to have presented the same motley spectacle that it presents to-day. Although from Herrick and Prior to Mr. Locker and Mr. Dobson they have, with rare exceptions, been 'laudatores temporis acti,' they have been at no loss to discern analogies between that past and their own time. The same motives have always been in operation, the same virtues honourable, the same vices detestable. The equilibrium has frequently shifted, and the moral standard which one age has striven to realize another has been content to idealize, but the standard itself has not appreciably altered. While, on the one hand, it is evident that each age chronicles the conquest of some vicious habit, the reclamation of some province from barbarism, and that the tide-mark once scored is ineffaceable, it is evident on the other hand, that evil tendencies are prone to recur after a period of apparent extinction, and that an ebb of puritanism is inevitably succeeded by a flow of libertinism. That the balance of such advance and recession is equal may not unreasonably be the impression first produced. A second consideration, however, is sufficient to correct it. However little the types of humanity have changed since Horace and Martial painted them, it is certain that the painters would not recognise the world to which their sitters belonged, a world of refined gentlemen and ladies who no longer delighted in seeing gladiators hack each other to death, and runaway slaves torn by lions. If they discerned some resemblance to the habits with which they were familiar among the fashionable congregation at a Ritualistic service, the crowd at a poll-booth, and the audience at a theatre, they would marvel at the interest which one distinguished assembly took in organizing a famine-fund, another in the composition of a school-board, a third in canvassing for an orphanage or an almshouse. If Herrick and Prior, in their turn, were transported to the London they had known, they would find its manners materially altered, the sanctity of marriage more respected, the representations of the stage more decorous, the evening meal no longer an orgy. Even Praed would find something to welcome in the abolition of Crockford's, and admit that the decision of a police-magistrate at Bow Street adjusted a quarrel at once more equitably and more economically than a pistol-shot at Wormwood Scrubbs. Whatever else has been lost, these are unquestionable gains. The Hydra, how often soever we behead it, will infallibly put forth new heads, but they will not be the same as the old. The lover of his kind, who is disheartened by the survey of the past and of the
present,

present, should find comfort in this outlook for the future, inexorably as the logic of events may convince him that the term of human perfectibility can never be fixed more definitely than "ad Græcas Kalendas."

ART. V.—*The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland; with a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War.* By John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., LL.D., &c. Two vols. London, 1874.

WITH the publication of these two volumes Mr. Motley has brought to a close a series of most meritorious intellectual labours. 'The Rise of the Dutch Republic,' 'The History of the United Netherlands from 1584 to 1609,' 'The Life and Death of John of Barneveld,' form a fine and continuous story, of which the writer and the nation celebrated by him have equal reason to be proud; a narrative which will remain a prominent ornament of American genius, while it has permanently enriched English literature on this as well as on the other side of the Atlantic. We congratulate warmly the indefatigable man of letters from beyond the seas, who has ransacked the archives of the Hague, Brussels, and London, who has come to rank as the greatest authority concerning one of the chief episodes in the history of European peoples, who has compiled from original documents, and, as it may fairly be said in view of the general public, for the first time, an important and entertaining and very instructive chapter in universal history.

A citizen of the United States and an experienced diplomatist, Mr. Motley was by sympathy and training alike fitted to be the historian of 'the United Provinces.' The zest and thoroughness with which he identifies himself with the spirit of the Netherlands give a genuine and solid value to his compositions; they are a constant stimulus to his industry and love of research; they spur him on, as he rummages among State-papers or deciphers the unprinted letters, 'in handwriting perhaps the worst that ever existed' (vol. i. p. ix), from which, as he tells us, he had to win the materials for his last book. Again, his own life as a servant of the State has implanted in him tastes which otherwise might not have had encouragement from him. By nature he is fondest of swift political and military action. A statesman by profession, he has dared to dedicate nearly 800 pages to the last nine years of John of Barneveld's life; and neither for ourselves

and by what hands he pleased, the master handicraftsman, who had served out his apprenticeship, worked his three years as journeyman, passed all his examinations, and paid all his fees, was confined in the choice of his workmen, and tied down to the statutes of his gild.

The latest development but one—or shall we say corruption?—of Labour Association is that which has been exhibited in the recent discords and extravagances of the motley fraternity claiming ‘International’ sway over the whole industrial world, while unable to preserve harmony or unity even in their own body. On one point at least the fragmentary and conflicting sections of that Association, which held their separate meetings in the course of last autumn at Geneva, remain unanimous—on the point, namely, that the common foe, with whom war *à outrance* is now to be waged by Labour, is *Capital*; in other words, that the portion of wealth invested in all civilized countries in the employment of labour becomes, by the fact of such investment, Labour’s enemy—an enemy against whom the most zealous and least instructed of these Labour champions proposed an instantaneous and effectual Social Revolution by an *Universal Strike*! The practical absurdity of such a proposition struck even the less rabid Socialist sectaries who met at Geneva. But the theoretical absurdity on which it was based remains inscribed on their banners—War of Labour against Capital!—Emancipation of handwork from all subordination to headwork, and of the industry of the present from all connection with, and all obligation to the stored wealth of, the past.

We have above adverted to the cross-purposes pursued from the outset by the British and some of the Continental fellow-founders of the noted or notorious ‘International Association.’ What the former looked for from it was such a compact alliance with their comrades in the ranks of labour abroad as should secure concerted action on both parts in case of conflict with their employers. But the then leading spirits amongst the foreign Internationalists had much more vast, if much more vague, objects. Nothing was in their minds or mouths but ‘Social Revolution.’ Nothing short of a Revolutionary Dictatorship, to be placed in the hands of an Executive Council supreme over all the doings of their constituents, seemed to them the agency equal to effecting that Revolution and establishing the absolute political and social domination of Manual Labour. It was this *Intransigente* revolutionary programme of theirs—namely, complete subjection to a new Committee of Public Safety, with a view to complete emancipation from all other Powers on earth—that produced the open schism in

surely describe not only the Europe of Rudolf II. and Ferdinand II.

‘The Holy Empire, which so ingeniously combined the worst characteristics of despotism and republicanism, kept all Germany and half Europe in the turmoil of a perpetual presidential election. A theatre where trivial personages and graceless actors performed a tragi-comedy of mingled folly, intrigue, and crime, and where earnestness and vigour were destined to be constantly baffled, now offered the principal stage for the entertainment and excitement of Christendom.’—Vol. i. p. 11.

With regard to English foreign policy during the times of which he has written, we give up argument with Mr. Motley, for if we commenced upon this topic, we know not when we should end. Quite briefly: we do not agree with his estimate of James the First and his policy, much less do we agree with his estimate of Elizabeth; we should be prepared, were there any necessity, to defend at length English policy toward the Netherlands—that it was tardy, cautious, now and then even foolish and mistaken, we admit; we also assert, that it was generally and ultimately successful and beneficent; were there need of proof, we should refer to the history of Holland and England—always remembering who were then the foes of both countries—in, amongst others, the concluding years of the seventeenth century. Sometimes we have felt surprise and mortification that America, possessing such promising historical scholars, should have turned her back so entirely on English history—we do not forget some most admirable chapters on English history in Mr. Kirk’s book—but with some of Mr. Motley’s observations in our mind, we confess, for the moment, to feeling every inclination to be gratefully acquiescent in the decrees which have ruled in this particular heretofore under the merciful Fates.

To pass on. Mr. Motley’s rough, sturdy, but highly picturesque English is remarkably adapted to his subject. Here and there, indeed, one might quarrel with a faintly ‘Batavian’ phrase or term. Such a word as ‘disreputation’ (i. p. 320, and ii. p. 241) grates rather on the ear. The following is a more than Batavian, is a Siamese sentence:—

‘The consummate soldier, the unrivalled statesman, each superior in his sphere to any contemporary rival, *each supplementing the other, and making up together, could they have been harmonised, a double head such as no political organism then existing could boast*, were now in hopeless antagonism to each other.’—Vol. ii. pp. 151–2.

We cannot make out whether Mr. Motley means us to see a superhuman or a ludicrous exhibition of crime and podagra, when,

when, in one long sentence, he writes of an arch-offender, 'Epernon, the true murderer of Henry,' that he '*trampled on courts of justice and councils of ministers,*' that he '*smothered for ever the process of Ravallac,*' 'and that he *strode triumphantly over friends and enemies throughout France, although so crippled by the gout that he could scarcely walk up stairs.*' (Vol. i. p. 230.)

But ordinarily Mr. Motley's style, if not free from blemishes, is very effective. Indeed we could not easily mention another historian who possesses so fully the art of bringing the actors and localities of the Past back into reality and into the very presence of his readers. And these last two volumes have all the excellence in this respect of their predecessors. The account, to cite one instance, of Henry IV. of France is most brilliant, and at the same time we think neither unjust nor unsound. Mr. Motley shines particularly when he has to deal with startling contradictions and exaggerations in character. We are not sure that the mystery of Henry's death is not darkened beyond what history demands by Mr. Motley, who strikes us as too credulous of the wild reports that flew about close to the event. But, as a whole, the picture is full of truth as of colour. And with what illustrious historians is Mr. Motley here competing! In his elaborate likeness of Henry, he has drawn that complex creature in every mood and in all lights. How masterly is, also, this little vignette, sketched in a couple of strokes!

'Strange combination of the hero, the warrior, the voluptuary, the sage, and the school-boy—it would be difficult to find in the whole range of history a more human, a more attractive, a more provoking, a less venerable character.'—Vol. i. pp. 221-2.

The principal fault of Mr. Motley's Dutch histories, with which we are impressed more than ever now that the succession of them is finished, and we have re-read them as a set of works extending over the sixteenth century—it implies more praise to him as a Dutch, than detraction from him as a European, historian—lies in the position which he gives to the story he has chosen to relate. He writes of the Low Countries as though in them was the centre of interest of the sixteenth century, as if not only in the history of military affairs, but everywhere, in Politics and Thought, the Low Countries were right in the foreground, starting and proclaiming the prospectus of independence. We demur to this, and will attempt to give the grounds of our demurrer.

We propose to make use of the present opportunity to review rapidly the situation and the perils of Christendom in the latter half of the sixteenth century. We shall try to trace the

the main springs to such lives as that of Barneveld. And we hope that our sketch will be of some service to readers of Mr. Motley's works, even though purposely we shall only rarely and incidentally touch upon the history of the Netherlands. We hope that we may enable them to connect the movement and the chiefs concerning whom he writes, with wider movements and heroes of even greater originality and more splendid parts. In this sort of survey, not easily to be compressed at all into the room at our disposal, the private and separate fortunes of any single individual can occupy our attention only in a subordinate degree. We must send our readers to Mr. Motley's last book for the history of John of Barneveld, which deserves their affectionate and studious perusal. A word or two we desire to devote to him, and this the more, since, for our objects, the epoch of his later life will not require such ample notice as the epoch to which the formation of the principles by which he was actuated belongs. John of Barneveld was one of the pupils, not one of the teachers, of the age, and yet the stubborn and rugged force of the Advocate of Holland will leave its distinct mark on the tide of public and universal revolutions.

Seldom have a prominent politician's life and character corresponded so nearly with the extent and bias of an accurately limited time and of a widely diffused sentiment. His chequered and protracted career touches at their extremities the limits of a momentous period. His birth took place a few months after the death of Martin Luther; he was executed a few months after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. His biography expands naturally into a history of the Netherlands for more than seventy years. His activity as a lawyer and a publicist accompanies through every stage the rebellion of the United Provinces, and their transformation into free and prosperous states. It is scarcely too much to say of his pen, that it summarised, that it often directed and overruled the conduct of diplomatic business throughout the several leading kingdoms of Western Europe, during days when glorious pages in English and French, as well as in Dutch, annals were being filled in. Under the eye of princes like Elizabeth Tudor, William the Silent, and Henri Quatre, there were assigned to no man such difficult negotiations and such dangerous missions as to him: nor did any man recommend himself for the fullest confidences by such noble proofs of sagacity and integrity. And there is no event which points more impressively the growing frowardness of impure motives, the lurking strength of jealousy and violence, the half-unconscious, the none the less wicked, usurpations of military and dynastic ambition than the trial or, to use the words employed
long

long ago by Lord Macaulay, 'the judicial murder' of John of Barneveld. That grey and venerable head fell as a kind of signal of war. An end was made of truce and prudence, and to the contrivances and precautions of cabinets.

The scaffold which was erected for the 13th of May, 1619, on the Binnenhof at the Hague, claims to be commemorated beyond many a bloody field where thousands may have perished in a paltry cause. The words of a score of synods and councils, in defence of whose prolix decisions it would be vain to tempt philosopher or patriot to risk reputation and to sacrifice life, are outweighed by a few broken utterances, in which the staunch old steward of constitutional privilege, in the sight of the people he had served, and of the ministers of divine and human law who had doomed him to the block, summed up his account and bade farewell to the republic: 'Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally. . . . Christ shall be my guide. . . . Be quick about it. Be quick.' The 'quick' act of the executioner declared how much, at all events for a while, the laborious achievements of statesmanship were despised and discredited. With the work of Barneveld, much of that of Sully and of the Cecils might be held to have been undone. Worse furies than those which their wisdom had managed to quell, or at least to restrain, were to be let loose. What were the campaigns in the Low Countries when compared with the devastation about to overwhelm Germany and the adjacent territories! Was not the fiery fame of Alva and his Spaniards to grow almost pale beside that of Tilly and Wallenstein, of Banner and Torstenson, of the Swedes and the Croats, and the whole huge mercenary rabble, without name and nearly without number, which for upwards of a quarter of a century renewed far and near in Central Europe the miseries of the dark ages, and the aspect of the great national migrations!

Charles V. ruled for thirty-six years. The year 1556 may be taken as historically the central year of the century; chronologically it divides it into two fairly equal halves. That is the date when—one year after his mother's death, one year after he had, with tears flowing down his cheeks, his broken frame supported on the shoulder of young William of Orange, bidden farewell to the Netherlands, his favourite provinces, and then, warned by a comet, had ('*Me mea fata vocant*,' he exclaimed) hurried from Brussels—the last great Emperor entered the monastery of Juste. The words placed in his mouth in Count von Platen's poem, suit well the occasion:—

'Nacht

‘Nacht ist’s, und Stürme sausen für und für,
Hispanische Mönche, schliesst mir auf die Thür !
Bereitet mir, was euer Haus vermag,
Ein Ordenskleid und einen Sarkophag !
Nun bin ich vor dem Tod den Todten gleich,
Und fall’ in Trümmern, wie das alte Reich.’*

He had been outwitted by Maurice of Saxony ; he had been foiled by the French before Metz ; he had been forced to grant equal privileges with Catholic to Lutheran Electors, Princes, Estates ; he had been humbled in the centre of his patrimonial and in the centre of his imperial power ; he had trembled at Innsbruck, he had yielded at Augsburg ; he had sent his son Philip beyond the seas, bridegroom to Aragonese Mary, now at last the Catholic Queen. In England he had hoped the days of Ferdinand and Isabella would renew themselves, his family-tree would strike root and flower again. ‘Philip and Mary,’ cried the herald at the wedding, ‘King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland.’ But there was no blessing on that ‘bloody’ reign, there came no heir from the Spanish match. And if Charles looked to Rome, it was to see a new and vigorous Pope, as Cardinal Caraffa, the bitterest and unreconciled enemy of his house and policy : a new Pope, he was elected May 23rd, 1555 : a vigorous Pope, though in his eightieth year, who remembered the free political atmosphere of Italy in the fifteenth century, and longed to breathe it again. ‘Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder,’ Paul IV. used to mutter to himself over the thick, black, brimstone-flavoured Neapolitan wine, of which he was fond, thinking of the Spaniards who had overrun the country where he and his beverage were native. Charles could carry the burden of affairs no longer, he would try no more to sustain the universal Church and to pacify the universal State. It was a toil beyond the strength of a man. Later, just before his death, he was heard to say, ‘In manus tuas tradidit ecclesiam tuam.’ Physical weakness had told on him, his personal sins oppressed him, he was troubled how to make his own peace with God. Care was taken that the view from his rooms should be bounded by the walls of the convent garden, and that his sleeping-chamber should be placed so that he might

* ‘’Tis night, and the storm rages more and more,
Ye Spanish monks, open to me the door.
And, as you may afford, for me provide
A coffin, and your order’s garb beside.
So, gathered to the dead while I suspire,
I fall to ruins like the old Empire.’

follow the chapel music and the service of the mass. Yet heresy tracked him into his last asylum. There was no escape from it. And, as people liked to relate whether the story was quite true or not, the hopelessness of his task among men had come home to his mind most as he worked among mechanisms; he had found it impossible only to bring two clocks to tick in unison.

Charles V. might turn in despair from the world, but the hopes which had animated Catholicism and Spain at the dawn of the century were not extinguished. And Catholicism and Spain—though not always as represented by the House of Habsburg and the Papacy, were at the middle of the century far more closely allied than at the beginning. The year of Charles V.'s abdication is in the annals of Catholicism not most memorable on account of that event. The year 1556 is the year in which the greatest saint of Spain—not excepting St. Dominic, the most passionate and reverential worshipper of the mystical Church; not excepting St. Francis—passed away from earth, leaving a large field to his successors, and confident of their joyful harvesting. It is the year in which died Ignatius Loyola. The Order he founded has always retained something of the national character of the Spaniard of the sixteenth century. Loyola was born on a frontier, and nourished in the literature and scenery of battles. Then, when he began to be about thirty years old, for his conflict with the world and Satan is brought by his panegyrists into awful proximity with that of the Divine Being, whose name—is there not here the pride of Spain?—is borne by the Society of Jesus, he was disabled, fighting against the French at the siege of Pamplona, from the further profession of carnal warfare. On his sick-bed, reading *Amadis of Gaul* and legends of the mendicant foundations, he imagined himself called according to the laws of a celestial chivalry to be the knight of the Blessed Virgin. The old wars with the Moors, the contrast in the familiar Spanish romances between Jerusalem and its king and his legions and the Soldan of Babylon, coloured still all his thought. In the spiritual Exercises there is, to this day, commended to the Order 'the contemplation of the kingdom of Christ Jesus under the similitude of a terrestrial king calling out his subjects to the strife.' On the vigil of the Festival of the Annunciation and before the image of Mary he hung up his sword and took his palmer's staff into his hand; he went then to pray, to confess and to scourge himself, to fast, a week at a time, to Manresa, and, fitted at length for the journey, he passed on to Jerusalem. He was not allowed to stay there. He was not permitted on his return to Spain to
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preach without further acquaintance with theology. He travelled humbly to Paris; he was dull at grammar, but he had visions which explained the mysteries of the sacraments and the creeds. To return to Jerusalem was still the idea that governed his plans. From Paris he and a few friends went to Venice; a quaint thread they twine into the life of those capitals of luxury and pleasure. Insuperable difficulties came in the way of the voyage to Syria. The little band fared on to Rome, the object before it continuing to be to preach to Saracens and Indians. The Pope at the time was Paul III., who took no step of importance without observing the constellations and consulting his astrologers. One would like to know what said now the stars and the soothsayers. He sanctioned the new Order in the Bull, '*Regimini Militantis Ecclesiæ*;' it was Spanish in its military organization, in its regimental obedience; the Company of Jesus, with Ignatius for first General, restricted for a short time to sixty souls, bound to do all the Pope's bidding, to go anywhere, to Turks, heathens, and heretics, at once, unconditionally, without discussion, without reward. What the Templars had been—with such modifications as were involved in the times—the Jesuits were to be. The verses in Solomon's Song, which the Temple had applied to itself, might be appropriated by the Company, would suit its distant wanderings, its wealth, the persecutions it inflicted and underwent, its watchfulness, its perpetual peril. 'Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant? Behold his bed, which is Solomon's; threescore valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel. They all hold swords, being expert in war: every man hath his sword upon his thigh because of fear in the night.' The Jesuit was to bend his head forward a little, to keep his eyes downcast, to have on his face a pleasant and calm look, and so forth. Should the Church define that what appears to the sight as white is black, he is to maintain the definition. In his Superior, the Soldier of Christ is to recognise and to worship the Presence, as it were, of Christ. He is to have no will of his own, he is to be as a log of wood, as a corpse, as a stick, which the old man can turn how and whither he likes. At first, a Jesuit might not accept a bishopric; we have quite lately seen with what difficulty a member of the Order was persuaded to receive a cardinal's hat. But from its foundation, the greatest names flocked into the society. Francis Borgia, who when Ignatius died stood over the seven Pyrenean provinces, who was afterwards the third General, had been a duke and a viceroy. When the next century opens, the Jesuits are, in all four continents, at the seats of political life.

life. The Fathers are in Akbar's palace at Lahore, in the Imperial chamber at Peking, at the court of the Emperor of Ethiopia. One Jesuit founded 300 churches in Japan. Among the Indians of Paraguay the noblest and most enlightened philanthropy of the Order showed itself in the so-called 'Reductions,' a new experiment in the way of Christian republics. In Europe the Catholic nobility and gentry were schooled in Jesuit seminaries, and the confidential spiritual direction of Catholic monarchs was, nearly universally we may say, exercised by specially trained Jesuit casuists. That Spanish power, which had shot up so rapidly, what a real strength it had put forth! Out of that series of marriages, from Ferdinand and Isabella to Philip and Mary, what a network of domestic and political and also of hierarchical intrigue had spun itself! How it encumbered Europe and the known world! Castilian priests, who at the commencement of Isabella the Catholic's reign would have been checked by the Guadalquivir, might now roam from the Paraná to the Yantse-kiang.

And, though the popes were unwilling servants, they, from Clement VII.'s time onward till long after the sixteenth century had terminated, were at the mercy of Spain and had to attend to her mandates. The independence of Italy, for which Julius, Leo, Clement himself had striven, had come to an end. Southern Italy was altogether Spanish, and the whole peninsula was held by Spanish arms and Spanish agents. The most curious and instructive study in Italian politics is presented in the Council of Trent. The Pope first shrinks from it in terror of Spain, then, reassured and reliant on Spain and for Catholic and Spanish objects, carries it on and concludes it. The Council was a diplomatic training ground for all the nations which took part in it. The rough sketch for the Council was discussed by Charles V. and a Venetian cardinal, who had lived amid the business of the republic and had written a book on the Venetian Constitution. The author of a careful essay on French diplomacy during the sixteenth century, M. Edouard Frémy, gives up, and in our opinion very rightly, his first chapter to an account of the behaviour of the French ambassadors at the later sittings of the Council. The narrative of the Council of Trent was a fine subject for political historians. It was written by a man who cared to unmask its treacherous diplomacy, by a Venetian, Sarpi. It was written again, as against Sarpi, by a Jesuit, Pallavicino. In an appendix to the last volume of his work on the Popes, Professor von Ranke has criticised Sarpi and his opponent. The German historian is, by much, the best living authority on the history of diplomacy: he calls Sarpi the
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second of modern Italian historians ; the first rank he awards to Macchiavelli.

General Councils had been numerous in the preceding century, in which, in fact, they had gone far to supply the place of the papacy. The desire for another Council had been strongly felt under Leo ; had very possibly been felt by Adrian, in many respects so exceptional a pope ; that desire was urged anew upon Clement. Popes hated Councils. A Medicean pope was likely to have Councils in special hatred. Leo had taken pains to have it recorded that a pope was above a council. Clement might dread that, were he arraigned before such an assembly, his use of his own money at the time of his election, his use of the funds of the Church since that event, and especially the illegitimacy of his birth, might cost him his chair. At last in 1545 the Council came together. The leaders of the reforming party among the cardinals were there. But they were soon met by the disputants of the new order, the Spaniards Lainez and Salmeron, to whom the word of command had been given by Ignatius Loyola to oppose every change, every novelty. Thus the Jesuits entered into the arena of Theology and European Politics. From that moment to this they have prevented or prejudged General Councils. The persuasion of Loyola had already helped to determine the Pope to listen to Cardinals Caraffa and Burgos, to re-organize the Inquisition, and to establish its head-quarters at Rome. We need not further accompany the Council of Trent through its scholastic windings, its verbose controversies, its pilgrimages from city to city ; it is thenceforward in the hands of Pope and Order.

The history of the sixteenth century is, first and foremost, the history of statecraft. This maxim will be our best guide, while we pick our way through the last fifty years of it. In some degree it is a history of great diplomatists on the Imperial and Papal thrones, and it is from those heights that a storm threatens which stirs panic and rouses energy. But it is ultimately a history of politicians with narrower and, as we might say, modern views, lovers of new institutions and constitutions. It is a marked era in the life of nations. Still more does its interest lie in its grand biographies, in which, as in representative statuary, are modelled beforehand, naked and defiant, the instincts and features of peoples. Statesmen never had harder work before them and never had such reason to mistrust themselves. A kind of authority, claiming to be parental, had been long disregarded, it might be, and disliked ; but, to dislike and disregard an infirm and inactive parent is quite a different thing from altogether disowning and denying him. For countries to develop slowly, to become stage by stage
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the homes of national dynasties and churches, the contradiction never becoming very perceptible between their traditions and inclinations, the feeling always being that a stimulus from within prompted each step, was a very different process from that into which countries were rapidly torn of conflict with powerful, pressing, foreign principles, which, moreover, often seemed to set them at variance with their own past and the piety of their ancestors. How far were these boldly aggressive movements, these revolts, justifiable? how far were they natural? How far was their universal spread simulated and artificial? how far was it the work of a few selfish and licentious leaders? Never were the imperfections of human nature seen more plainly, felt more keenly, than in that age. We alluded, a little while ago, to the influence of the Society of Jesus at courts. And that influence was in no small measure due to the pains and skill devoted, of set purpose, by the Order to the management of the confessional. In the combats of interest and opinion, conscience, where a man was honest, was constantly baffled; a person, from whom his position demanded that he should lead others, would be in continual want of a guide himself. The same needs existed, where the prescriptions of the Jesuits have never been, on any large scale, applied, where the hostility to Rome was strongest. Men in general were doubtful about their acts and about their motives, which they desired should be approved by God as well as by government. The very same causes, which in some countries threw such power into the hands of the Jesuits, in other countries produced a multiplication of sects, until it looked probable that Christianity would soon have as many various subdivisions as there were Christian congregations. Wherever a man would undertake the control and cure of souls, there was sure to be no lack of souls anxious and wishful to be cared for. Many explained these symptoms in communities to mean the dissolution of the whole life of communities. They refused to believe that a Henry VIII. or a Gustavus Wasa could be a saviour of society. The real question to them, they said, was not at all a question of ecclesiastical doctrine or of royal supremacy. It involved the first rules of morality. And, though popes might sometimes be bad in morals, were not monarchs usually so? Would it do not to hold reserved the highest place, in the sight of all nations, for a potentate, who had once embodied and who might again embody Moral Greatness. What was happening? Lassitude was sapping the vital force of the people, luxury that of the courts. What prospect could be more doleful? One saw cities swayed by the filthiest and most blasphemous ravings of demagogues, and, in the country, peasants were rallying on behalf of the

the lowest of the older superstitions or on behalf of communistic heresies.

The lives which have been, in their example and result, most beneficent to humanity, have been at the last consumed by a sense of loneliness and failure; and it may be, that always after intense effort, whether on the part of a person or a combination of persons, a corresponding slackness of mental fibre is inevitable.

'Post tenebras lux' is the ancient motto of the town of Geneva, on which the dawn and the warmth of the sun break from behind the wall of the Alps and of eternal snow. In the heraldic bearings of the city meet the Eagle and the Keys, the symbols of Cæsar and of St. Peter. On the very geography of Geneva and on all her fortunes there is set the seal of an international vocation. Fable makes Geneva four centuries older than Rome, and the eldest daughter of Troy. History connects the site with the opening event in Cæsar's Western campaigns. Here was the frontier of the Allobroges, the allies of the Romans, where Cæsar met and turned aside the unwieldy caravan of the Helvetians. In our own time, Geneva stands in a way of her own between the divergent interests of nations, of labour and capital, of ecclesiastical establishments; she offers a theatre for Alabama arbitrations, for social congresses, for the preaching of Père Hyacinthe. Throughout the Middle Ages and at the rise of modern history she took a very prominent part in the progress of commerce, and was the home of much literary and military activity. 'Clef et Boulevard de la Suisse,' the city has been styled. Geneva stood on the confines of three languages, of three political organisms, Italy, France, and the Empire. She had a close connection with the trade of Northern and Western Europe through Cologne, with that of the South and East through Florence and Venice; she was in closer neighbourhood and more intimate relations with, at about equal distances, Bern, Lyons, and Turin. And the mountain, the river, the lake—above all natural objects most suggestive to the mind of the traveller on the Continent in the nineteenth century, inviting and familiar as they have been to the typical philosopher, and historian, and poet, dear even to the satirist, of modern Europe—Mont Blanc, the Rhone, Lake Lemman, the delight of the large intellects of Rousseau, Gibbon, Byron and Voltaire, enliven and define the landscape of Geneva.

In Carolingian times a count of Geneva had governed on behalf of the Roman Empire. In Swabian times, the Emperor had made the bishop of Geneva count. The bishop in his turn gave secular rule under himself to the Count of Savoy, who bore the title of 'Vidomne.' By degrees this title of vidomne passed —the

—the count at Turin willing it so in order that his relations with Geneva might lose as much as possible the traces of their origin in a delegated authority—from the Count of Savoy to his local officer, the custodian of the island-fortress in the Rhone. We are led to remark how, in the early history of the House of Savoy, the design to reach and enclose Geneva was as warmly nursed and as persistently maintained as, in the later history of that House, the design to reach and to enclose Rome. Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, in the variety and incongruity of the distinctions he accumulated, claims celebrity as having surpassed all his successors. He became, one after the other, Count and Duke of Savoy, Pope of Rome and Bishop of Geneva (A.D. 1444); at intervals in his career he let his beard grow and lived a hermit at Ripaille. From the times of Amadeus VIII. the bishops of Geneva were mostly members of the ducal family. The ambitious house was increased and extended; at last Geneva was on all sides encompassed by the possessions of the Duke of Savoy. The line which separated the rights of the duke over Geneva from his rights over the territories beyond the city-property had become the slightest imaginable. But under the shadow of the Cathedral of St. Peter at Geneva had sprung up—the plant is a common one in mediæval episcopal purlieus—a further Power, a determined democracy. So far back as 1387 a charter of liberties was granted, which made an important landmark on the road toward the full enjoyment by Geneva of the forms of a republic. Thus the city was one of most diverse population and opinions. It had a most complicated jurisdiction and police. Bishop, Vidomne, and Syndicate were bound by oath to uphold each other's privileges and administration. Then there was the action of the Chapter, of the Vidomne's lieutenant, of the various civic committees, from the General Council, the Smaller Council, the Council of Sixty, down to the numerous and restless clubs and confraternities—*abbayes et compagnies*—in which the youth of Geneva enrolled itself for the discussion of affairs and for drill and the practice of archery. A street of Geneva was called after the German, a market-hall after the French, merchants. In one part of the city rose a Franciscan, in another an unusually spacious Dominican convent ('le Grand Palais'). Pilgrims crowded to the shrine of St. Victor. A band of the hungry shaggy mountaineers from the Italian side of the Alps, who formed the garrison, might be seen to pass vociferating in their vile Piedmontese jargon on one side of the road, while on the other might stand a group of high-born cathedral dignitaries paying their respects to each other in Ciceronian Latin. Processions, manœuvres, fairs, festivals, traffic kept the town in an unintermittent bustle. There

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were as many as fifty notaries-public. The fondness of the Genevans for amusement and gaiety, in particular their patronage of allegorical and comic representations, became proverbial. But the joyous and prosperous city had its turbulent and bitter moods, and these recurred more and more often. It knew what it was to be under interdict and under martial law. The first decades of the sixteenth century were spent at Geneva in internal dissensions, quarrels between duke and bishop, bishop and citizens, duke and citizens. Some of the leading citizens had been admitted to the freedom of Freiburg and Bern. Three men of the popular party are famous above the rest: the versatile and eloquent François de Bonnivard, who has sometimes been styled the Erasmus of the Genevan Reformation; Philibert Berthelier the favourite of the multitude, with a humorous and a melancholy vein in him, fond of music and conviviality, but amid the clatter of wine-cups imparting to the friend next him his prevision of a violent death,—Berthelier has been called the Egmont of the Genevan struggle for independence; then Bezanson Hugues, the coolest and, as it strikes us, the noblest of the trio, whom, continuing the comparison between Geneva and the Netherlands, we would take leave to think of as a companion spirit to John of Barneveld.

It was in connection with a section of the inhabitants led by Berthelier, Bezanson Hugues, and Bonnivard, that a famous nickname of faction came into vogue at Geneva. The partisans of the Freiburg and Bern ‘*combourgeoisie*’ were called Huguenots, the adherents of Savoy Mamelukes. The word ‘*Eyguenot*’ may with most probability be derived from the German ‘*Eidgenoss*,’ the Swiss league being best known as the ‘*Eidgenossen*,’ ‘the sworn comrades;’ with less probability from the name of the ablest Genevan leader, Bezanson Hugues.*

Anyhow the term had a political before it had a religious meaning, and, whether it be the same with the French party-epithet or not, which is sometimes still a subject of dispute, this description of the term would still be true in both localities. Bezanson Hugues and Berthelier were much more political than ecclesiastical reformers; Bezanson Hugues remained in life and death a Catholic; even Bonnivard’s revolt from the papal and monastic system had its root in and took its savour from literary

* Kampschulte’s ‘*Calvin*,’ p. 49. We have to acknowledge great obligations to this book. Not only the University of Bonn and the Old Catholic movement, but historical literature generally, suffered a great loss in the premature death of Professor Kampschulte. Only one out of the three volumes he meant to write on Calvin, had been published when he died. This fragment is a very remarkable example of learning, a still more remarkable example of impartiality.

rather than moral tendencies in his generation. Of the two implicated towns, Freiburg was strongly Catholic and Bern was Protestant. It was from Freiburg that, in the first instance, the citizens of Geneva had most support and sympathy; later, indeed, though not because Geneva freely willed or wished it so, Bern supplanted Freiburg. Geneva passed, without knowing well how and in what direction she was being moved, out of one relation into another. Very slowly and under the sheer compulsion of the Duke of Savoy's policy, with which fell in after countless subterfuges and hesitations that of the bishop, Peter de la Baumé, a policy bent on confounding and causing to be confounded the desire for local franchises with the taint of those reviled heresies which were known, like every other novelty, to have made some way in the place,—most slowly was Geneva as a city pressed into pronounced antagonism to Catholic doctrine and the system of the Catholic Church. When the bishop had excommunicated Geneva; when the Archbishop of Vienne, who was metropolitan, and the Pope had confirmed the excommunication; when it was announced that the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Geneva in concert were levying troops and preparing to take the field against Geneva,—then, and not till then, did Genevan councillors begin to advise with a foreign missionary at whom hitherto they had looked askance, a *protégé* of Bern, which had given him introductions that had hitherto been of small service to him, 'the Welsh Luther,' the particular *bête noire* of Erasmus, William Farel;—not until then did Farel become a political personage at Geneva, though thenceforward a forward enough station was taken by him; not until then did the Protestant watchwords become those of Genevan patriotism. By the act of her enemies two courses only were at all open to Geneva. She must make her choice if she would have those enemies thrust back, kept at bay, between two, the only possible allies. Bern or France! Alliance with France could have but one result—union with France. As it was, when, with the help of Bern, Geneva was safe from her old tyrants, she found Bernese statesmen—they had far and wide the reputation—not much less covetous than French, and she was put to no little trouble to preserve her autonomy. Had it not been for her professedly sincere and thorough Protestantism, for the thus assured guarantees of religious affinity and fellowship, Bern would have enforced, as she demanded, the most substantial pledges; she would have annexed the town she had rescued.

At the conclusion of a contest of about thirty years' duration, Geneva had shaken off the yoke of her bishop and of the Duke of Savoy. She had secured what men called her liberty; had she

she not sacrificed her character? 'A tottering republic, a wavering faith, a nascent church,' the sceptical and alarmist observer would have been able to see, as nowhere else, at Geneva, the picture traced for him vaguely in the whole condition of Europe, reproduced in a speaking and highly-finished miniature. The chiefs who had begun the movement had nearly all passed away, and their righteous and moderate enthusiasm was gone with them. In the place of old ecclesiastical foundations, of old patrician and civic authorities, what remained? In numbers the leading Genevan families had gone into exile with all the corporate and ceremonial, all the time-worn and time-honoured, furniture of the past. They had left a blank. The very soul of the city was extinct. How quickly did Geneva become the byword of Europe for the wildest scenes of debauchery, for as wild scenes of iconoclasm! The frenzied passion for excitement, change, and destruction had but to overleap another hedge or two, and it would have consummated political suicide. What were the materials for a future? Here a poor remnant of the old Genevan stock, the cringing and unworthy children of noble names, who had given up their old beliefs for the sake of having none, who had broken with Catholicism and its dignified official protectors, because they wanted to break with all religion and order; there an unreasoning, insurgent mob collected together by refugee revolutionary preachers, who, as soon as controversy and church-storming were over, lost all love for their untractable flocks, and found, day by day, their posts more untenable.

At this very darkest moment a work was to commence at Geneva, beside which every other previous and later enterprise originated within her walls sinks into insignificance. In July 1536, a poor French man of letters, travelling under an assumed name, tired with his journey, arrived, intending to rest for one night, at Geneva. He met a former companion, Louis du Tillet, who chanced to inform Farel that the author of the 'Institutes of the Christian Religion' was in the city. Farel had been for some time at his wits' end; he was through and through conscious of his incompetence as an organizer and legislator; he was full of fear lest, master of so many battle-fields, he should never succeed in making any use of victory. Here, the thought flashed on him at the instant, was in Geneva the very man Geneva required, the writer of a book which, published only a few months before, was on the lips of the entire learned and inquisitive world, which had become already the programme of Protestantism, or, as the Romanist historian Florimund de Raemund put it, 'the Koran, the Talmud of Heresy.' The man who had set forth the theory

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of Protestantism should bring into action the practice of Protestantism. From the bottom of his overtasked, perplexed, ardent, bold heart, Farel determined that Calvin should not leave the spot. He hastened to the stranger's lodgings, and in a few impetuous words forced upon him his plan. Calvin showed astonishment and annoyance. He was, he stated, a young, shy student; his tastes were for quiet, academic pursuits; he had found his place; and manifestly the first successes, the successes of the sole kind appropriate to his talent and mode of living, which had fallen to him, forbade in him the thought of renouncing his chosen career. But the preacher, who had stood before the stoniest congregations and felt his own fires, who never turned from insult or blow and had shed his blood for his tenets, who had carried by assault church after church, the 'Conqueror of Geneva,' was not to be daunted when he had at last before him the person for whom he was in his conscience convinced he had through all his past actions been preparing the way. 'Thou pratest of thy studies: I tell thee in the name of Almighty God that His curse is upon thee shouldst thou dare to withdraw thyself from this work of the Lord, and hearken to the cry of thine own flesh before the call of Christ.' 'And I was frightened and shaken as if by God on high, and as though His hand had stopped me on the way,' says Calvin, recalling the interview and the marvellous power with which Farel had delivered himself of his message.

Though it is a very modern and, as commonly applied, a somewhat inapplicable phrase, yet we think that one of his recent French biographers has touched exactly Calvin's own thought, when he describes him as undertaking his labours with the intention of making Geneva the capital of an idea. To no one in those days or in ours were the disorders of the sixteenth century more abhorrent. His nicely poised and clear intelligence chafed and struggled and must break through and get to light, wherever the clouds of barbarism and ignorance had defiled the image and dulled the knowledge of truth, Divine and Immaculate. He hated, and with every instinct of a creative and masterful genius he bent his whole strength of character and intellect to wrestle with, chaos. Never was Geneva's motto truer of her than in Calvin's time, 'Post tenebras lux;' never was its legend of the implacable agonizing hostility between good and evil, light and darkness, the active Spirit of God and the shapeless, lifeless waters of a lower world, more finely illumined than in the life of Calvin. Calvin is one of those heroes of history who have lived by and acted by the guidance of abstract principles. The common weaknesses of men, such

as beset even most great men, are not discernible in him. He is too severe, too cold ; one misses in him not many of the more excellent, but many of the more amiable qualities of the race. The whole earth wore for him, one might say, the air of a strange land. He was never at home, in the domestic and tender sense which the word has, at Geneva or anywhere. How, it has been felt, if a Luther had lived at Geneva instead of a Calvin, would its scenery have been extolled and recapitulated in his 'Table Talk' ! At Geneva a Luther would never have let any other man but himself translate the Psalms of David. From Geneva a Luther would have preached sermons and sung hymns hardly more inspired by Scripture than by the sublimity of the mountain and the ripple of the lake. Glacier and avalanche, the silence and the sounds of the high Alps, the difficult pass through which he had come, the fragrant meadows in which he had reposed, a Luther would have celebrated in the ears of all the countries of the Reformation. Luther would have somewhere had a word to say, not altogether disparagingly, of that artist of the olden time whose altarpiece had been turned to the wall, who had put St. Peter, fisher of men, founder of the Church, patron of Geneva, out upon those particular waters to net his miraculous draught : 'On y reconnoît parfaitement les deux Monts Salève, le Môle et les Voyrons.' But to Calvin Geneva was always a foreign city. The records of the city have caught the chill of his presence ; that foreigner, that Frenchman, 'iste Gallus,' so run the first entries respecting him. Not the beautiful and well-proportioned aspect, the ugly and disorganized aspect in external life in every province of it struck Calvin most. He came in time to love Geneva to a certain degree, as a sort of city of refuge. And at best Switzerland was to Calvin what the wilderness of Sinai was to Moses : not a promised land, though one hallowed especially in the interference of Providence. In sight of Mont Blanc Calvin re-issued, as peremptorily and as literally, the Divine Word as the Jewish law-giver had done, and he re-asserted the doctrine of predestination and of a chosen people.

Of himself Calvin, in his voluminous writings, rarely speaks. It is at once an aristocratic haughtiness and a literary taste which restrain him, and also a feeling of the nothingness of personal incidents along the track of one in whom self has been destroyed and whom God speeds onward in a special mission. Nor need we dwell on his early youth. One coincidence we may notice, the more as it has escaped most of his biographers. At the Collège de Montaigu at Paris he studied dialectics under the same Spanish professor to whose instructions Ignatius Loyola was indebted for his

his introduction to letters. Until he was about eighteen, Calvin read grammar, philosophy, and theology; then, in accordance with a change in his father's intentions concerning him, ~~law~~ at Orleans and Bourges. After his father's death, while he continued his studies in jurisprudence, he gave special attention to the ancient languages; it was at this period of his life that he made himself acquainted with Greek. With his Humanist training came religious doubt. Some years of deliberation followed, during which he thought rather of embracing the literary than either the ecclesiastical or the legal profession. A Reuchlin or an Erasmus was his model. He was again for twelve months at Paris, in the libraries and lecture-rooms. He was there when he published his first work, a commentary on Seneca's treatise on 'Clemency.' In this exercise, of which he took care to send a copy to Erasmus, Calvin's interest in philological inquiry and in the political questions of his day is the most marked feature; he is still keeping, in his occupations and in his own meditations, his religious scruples as much as he can out of sight and consideration. It is as a young classical scholar that he makes his *début*. But the effort to distract himself was too much for him. Very shortly after the publication of his book must have occurred his 'conversion,' of which none of the details can be said to be known. We have him immediately the chief of the Protestant learning in Paris. He composed for a friend, who was Rector of the University, a speech, which, delivered on All Saints' Day, roused the indignation of the Sorbonne and made it necessary both for orator and author to flee. From that time, 1533, to the time of his settlement at Geneva, he was wandering from place to place: Angoulême, Noyon, Nerac, Basle, writing now and then a tract or a preface, preparing and at last sending to press the first edition of the literary exploit of his life, the '*Institutio Religionis Christianæ*.' 'In doctrine,' says Beza of Calvin, 'he was always the same, from the beginning to his last breath.' It is so. His whole system of theology was finished when he was six-and-twenty years old. And there is the same smoothness, sureness, want of flaw, in his style as in his mind. From the beginning his writing was as correct as his thought was accurate.

The appearance of the '*Institutes of the Christian Religion*' is quite as much an incident in the history of French literature as is that of Christianity or of politics. It was probably first sketched in French, though first printed in Latin; here, however, we touch, and at once withdraw from, a most debatable and unsettled question. Of this there can be no doubt: the French volume, whether ready before or after the Latin, stamped Calvin as a first-rate classical writer in his mother tongue.

tongue. And he was a French classic from the first moment that he wrote French. The prose of the earliest editions is as perfect as any of Calvin's work. M. Nisard, himself an Academician and the author of the best known modern history of French literature, declares Calvin to have understood far better than the other great contemporary light of literary France, Rabelais, the genius and capacity of the French language, and, out of the magnificent roll of French theologians, to have expressed the truths of religion with a native eloquence never surpassed and never equalled unless by Bossuet. Calvin created, M. Nisard goes on to say, a particular branch of modern, and conspicuously of French, literary composition; he created a new language, that of polemics. He had passed from one French university to another just at the right moments of the sparkling effervescence of the French revival of letters; he had been in contact with the leading teachers in Roman law and ancient scholarship as well as in theology. The two former subjects had exerted over him a strong attraction and had moulded the forms of his mind; a legal and a literary acumen will sharpen and clarify every page of his theology. The political briskness of Francis I. had kindled him; he was on the scent of a new diplomacy. By education a Humanist of Humanists, in intellect a Frenchman of Frenchmen, in morals a Reformer of Reformers, such was Calvin when he took up his abode at Geneva. Now, as so often, Genevan policy is set to general policy. The foreign bishop, the foreign duke, have made way for 'iste Gallus,' 'maître Calvin.' 'The Aristotle of the Reformation,' as his friends called him, had dedicated his book, in a glowing piece of rhetoric, to the King of France, 'Christianæ Religionis Institutio . . . Præfatio ad Christianissimum Regem Franciæ.'

Let us note, moreover, even in this hasty view of him, how his French instincts were strengthened during his exile from Geneva in Germany, when the Libertines had for a while got the upper hand of him and driven him out. He wrote letters which are replete with information about the condition of Germany; he had dived deep into the muddle of German political and religious disputations: in his exposition and criticism some perspicuity and brevity can be imparted to them. The heavy and somnolent movements of German princes and divines offended the polished and sprightly Frenchman. The long and tedious digestive process, in which they mentally lounged and dozed, disgusted Calvin. If he mentioned the pressing subject of the day,—that of discipline, of self-government,—the answer from every German was the same, a deep-drawn sigh. He looked in vain for anything like his ideal in Germany.

Germany. His patience was exhausted, his fine sense of manners was wounded. 'Novi Germaniæ morem,' he wrote years after in good-humoured sarcasm. He had stored his memory with peccadilloes to be avoided, in that country of conscientious fogginess and organized procrastinations, where, as he complained, at assemblies, which were to be decisive, the authoritative persons never arrived, nor was it expected of them; where the mode of concluding business was to adjourn it; where the object of coming together was to heap document on document, all formularies of concord and mediation between people who meant contentedly to go on for ever agreeing to differ.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the two political powers which overshadowed civilization were the Imperial system, as administered by Charles V., and the Hierarchical system, as represented by such a ruler as Leo X. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Empire and Papacy, greatly modified as they had been, were still most dangerous engines of reaction, and Spain and Italy placed exquisitely trained, and by no means effete forces at their disposal. He who would understand the essence of the opposition they then aroused, the nature of the issues at stake, the reasons why the sixteenth century draws to it throughout Europe, and wheresoever European thought and speech prevail, such lively attention in the nineteenth, would, we take it, do well to examine and analyse very minutely the principles and policy of two societies, which, we should further advise, should be approached first in their literary character. We mean the Republic of Geneva, but chiefly the Genevan Academy; and the kingdom of England, but chiefly the Court of Queen Elizabeth. From English history we, for the present, must resolutely turn. English history proper is not the history either of Genevan ideas or of those with which Geneva was at war. But if not in England proper, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Wales, in almost all British colonies, those ideas have had, and, in many instances, continue to have, the mastery; and as under Mary Tudor there was a Spanish, so under the whole line of Stuart there was a Scotch period in the history of the kernel of the Anglo-Saxon race, in the history of England itself. The Academy of Geneva, surrounded by the life of the civic republic, from which idleness, frivolity, and luxury had been expelled, and not quite unhampered, though far less hampered than one would suppose, by a grim and scrutinising church discipline, remained in its first youth down to 1605, the year of Theodore Beza's death. He was its earliest Rector, whom Calvin had recommended for it, whom he had preferred

ferred to himself. After Calvin's death, Beza took up the whole work of Calvin. The Academy got its original endowment from the legacy of his entire estate for its purposes by 'the prisoner of Chillon,' Bonnivard, the survivor of so many changes at Geneva. It speedily became a centre of culture, letters, and education. Robert Stephens—Robert I., these printers rank in their calling as kings—spent the last eight years of his life at Geneva, printed there some of his best specimens, and died there. His son, Henry II., was a citizen of Geneva; was as much established in that city as in any other. His learning and his labours were universal, and his activity was ubiquitous. He was ever welcome and safe at Geneva. The Stephenses were the finest and most honoured scholars of their day; their fame is as classic as Calvin's. Conrad Badius was another great Genevan printer. Proudest of his press and above everything anxious to produce editions free of errors, he had also a high reputation as a pulpit-divine and as a profound writer. M. Michelet counts as many as thirty printing establishments, working night and day, at Geneva, and supplying the colporteurs of Italy, France, England, and the Netherlands. For the Genevan public, the chronicles of the city were written in French; and works, full of lessons of patriotism, such as Josephus and Livy, were translated into that language. Geneva had, Senebier tells us, sixty booksellers' shops. Isaac Casaubon lived for many years at Geneva. The learned of that age spent missionary lives; journeyed from place to place. Geneva was their house of call and harbour of safety. Joseph Justus Scaliger lectured for two years at Geneva, at the same time Francis Hottoman was lecturing there on law. Bonnefoy, the Oriental jurist, of whom Cujas said that he would be the only man fit to supply his own place, had a chair at Geneva. Scringgeour, professor of philosophy and law, was a Scotchman. Chevalier, the first professor of Hebrew at Geneva, was born in Normandy; subsequently he taught Hebrew at Cambridge. Similarly Daneau taught for some time at Geneva, and then passed on to a chair at Leyden, and to a place in the political history of the Low Countries. To careful readers of Mr. Motley, a brief notice of Charles Perrot will commend itself, who was Rector of the Academy in 1570 and again in 1588. The qualities reported of him show a kind of scholar and thinker, whom one would not have suspected at Geneva. Foremost among those qualities was his deep veneration for the ancients. In the album of a favourite pupil—a certain *Uytendogaert*—he inscribed the words, 'Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.' It is also on record that a book by him was suppressed
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after his death, entitled 'De Extremis in Ecclesiâ vitandis.' Let us turn to one man's library table and catch a glimpse of the extent of the personal associations into which the student of Geneva, as he raised his eyes from his page, as he scattered the products of his brain abroad, entered. Beza dedicated the folio second edition of his New Testament, in Greek and Latin, to Queen Elizabeth of England, the octavo edition to the Prince of Condé and the French nobility; he presented a famous manuscript of the Gospels and Acts to the University of Cambridge; he left by will a Greek manuscript of the New Testament to Sully; when his hand began to fail, in order to prevent—though the effort turned out a vain one, for the volumes cannot be traced—the dispersal of a precious collection, he sold six hundred louis d'ors' worth of books to a house-pupil of his, a Moravian seigneur, George Sigismund of Zastrizl. With Mr. Motley's last pages in our minds, we may not forget how Barneveld in his extremity turned to the shade of Beza, the 'Pope of the Huguenots,' the Genevan psalmodist.

'After an hour he called for his *French Psalm Book*, and read in it for some time.'—Vol. ii., p. 374.

'The clergymen then re-entered and asked if he had been able to sleep. He answered, "No, but that he had been much consoled by many noble things which he had been reading in the *French Psalm Book*."—Vol. ii. p. 376.

"Will my lord please to prepare himself?"

"Very well, very well," said the prisoner. "Shall we go at once?"

'But Walæus suggested a prayer. Upon its conclusion, Barneveld gave his hand to the provost-marshal and to the two soldiers, bidding them adieu, and walked downstairs, attended by them, to the chamber of the judges. As soon as he appeared at the door, he was informed that there had been a misunderstanding, and he was requested to wait a little. He accordingly went upstairs again with perfect calmness, sat down in his chamber again, and read in his *French Psalm Book*.'—Vol. ii. p. 381.

Let us also remember, how to this Protestant Rome exiles and fugitives gathered. There was an English church with English services at Geneva as early as 1555, an Italian church with Italian services in 1551, a little later a Spanish church with Spanish services. In the year 1558, we read that in one morning 279 persons became permanent residents at Geneva, namely, 50 Englishmen, 200 Frenchmen, 25 Italians, and 4 Spaniards.

But pre-eminently as a High School for the youth of Europe does Geneva claim attention and the lasting gratitude of civilization. As the chief lights of learning settled for a longer or shorter stay at Geneva, so too did future soldiers and statesmen
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from the leading aristocratic families of the Continent, in a remarkable degree from the more decentralized countries of Europe—as Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, the Netherlands, North Britain—travel to Geneva as the resort of classical culture and the cradle of a fresh and hopeful political life. Theodore Beza was at once the head of Calvinistic Geneva and of the science and literature of Protestant politics in Europe until the century had closed. He was the one Reformer who lived right through the sixteenth into the seventeenth century. In 1600 he preached, it was a pious but not a prophetic discourse, from the text, ‘Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.’ Beza, like Calvin, was a Frenchman. He took a personal part in French politics. He was a man of high descent and of majestic visage, a poet, a courtier, a strict Calvinist about whom there was no outside appearance of the Puritan, a diplomatist at ease among cardinals and fine ladies, an adept at epigrams and complimentary verses. Throughout the religious strife in France he was appealed to and he gave counsel; at the conference of Poissy he and the Cardinal of Lorraine were matched against one another. Henry IV. after his apostasy still revered Beza; when he met him, embraced him, sought to please him, addressed him as ‘Father.’ Beza was the spiritual father and political guide of the Colignis, the Rohans, the D’Aubignés, the Sullys, pure and earnest Christian nobles, as virtuous as they were valiant, rushing on the field like a mountain torrent, over every obstacle, and—for a space, so long as they remembered Beza and the Fountain-head of their prowess—among the polluted and miry currents of royal and aristocratic French life, bright and unstained like a mountain torrent.

The narrative of the Religious Wars in France and of their connection with Geneva has an exact counterpart in Scotland. For Katharine of Medici, there are the two Maries: Mary of Guise and ‘the Queen of Scots.’ For Admiral Coligni, there is the Regent Murray. For Calvin, there is—a sterner and, in planting an undying seed, a more successful Calvinist than Calvin—the most congenial and fervid disciple of the master, John Knox. For Beza, there is Andrew Melville, who had been for ten years of his life at Geneva and among the Huguenots. For Beza’s pupil, Henry of Navarre, there is Melville’s pupil, James of Scotland, on whom London acted as Paris on Henri Quatre, leading him away to Prelacy.

We observed above, that the Slavonian countries sent their young nobility, in considerable numbers, to Geneva. No nationality took a larger place in Beza’s mind. Zastrizl bought, as we have seen, that it might remain together and be transplanted to

to his own country, the bulk of Beza's library. Charles of Zierotin excelled in his time among the younger scholars of Geneva; there he learnt to love Plato and Plutarch, to admire Beza as the greatest man of that age, to comprehend the world-wide significance of the struggle his own Hussite forefathers had begun. When he had finished his studies at Geneva, Zierotin visited the West. He saw England, where he became a bosom friend of Robert, Earl of Salisbury. A few years later he came all the way from his family castle to take part in one of Henry IV.'s campaigns. His after-career was devoted to the public service of his country, he became its leading statesman—Landeshauptmann of Moravia,—he remained an important personage in the politics of Eastern Europe until the very eve of the Thirty Years' War.

How much the Netherlands owed to the political model and teaching of Geneva our readers will have learnt, or can easily learn, from Mr. Motley's present work and from his previous writings.

More practical, and so more profitable, than a study of Athens in her prime, of Rome in the palmiest days of the Republic, was, in full sixteenth century, the study of Geneva herself. Nowhere had there been in State and Church such disunion, in moral character and in mental sinew such decrepitude, as at Geneva, when, as one might well deem, God's hand and the voice of Farel arrested Calvin. And on the very 'Slough of Despond' Calvin had planted a good and substantial city. All Europe took courage. What Luther had done for the individual, Calvin had done for the State. After Calvin's work, there could no longer be any doubt about the stability, the vitality, of the political movement into which that work was linked; there could be no doubt that Christianity could exist without the Roman Papacy, and civilization without the Imperial system. A mass of political superstitions was exploded. And where were thews and muscles, where were military authority and rigour, where were religious zeal and discipline, where was rational and logical statesmanship to be found, if not among the Calvinists of the seventeenth century?

Every one, we suppose, is conscious of his proneness to think of periods of a hundred years, of centuries, as if these were something more than just conventional arrangements for chronological purposes, as if an integral change took place in universal human character at such an epoch as the year 1500 or 1600. We speak continually, say of the nineteenth century, as if there were some greater inherent distinction between the years 1799 and 1800 than between the years 1800 and 1801. However, it
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is a subject for thankfulness that on such a matter a little mental carelessness is not very misleading. For it is evident enough that, roughly stated, in a hundred years, in the course of about three generations, the general fashion of things does alter, the origin of leading maxims falls out of record, necessary re-adjustments have to be made, points of departure have to be recovered. Political memory is bounded much as domestic memory. Tradition has no real and healthy life when it ceases to be oral, when it reaches backward beyond the tales of a grandfather. It loses its hold as an instinct, as a nature, when it is not bred at home and current from the nursery, when it begins to depend upon the training of the schools and calculations grounded on the maturer experiences of him who allows it to weigh with him. Tradition will not do instead of faith; unless, at least, it falls from the lips of one to whom it is faith, not tradition. So it is that, when a hundred years have passed since Charles, Leo, Henry, Francis trod the stage, the eye looks in vain for anything that resembles them. What strides diplomacy and national spirit have taken! It needs an effort to find predecessors for Gustavus Adolphus, Oxenstiern, Richelieu, Turenne, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell. Not that there is a breach in the history; yet how independent is the century, how different the age, how new the field!

On the threshold of those other times we pause, our limits are reached, and the task we had set ourselves is—as we are well aware, rather in the way of hint than of exposition—most imperfectly accomplished. And for the present we must part with Mr. Motley. He is a writer to whom the public is much indebted, and whom it will be always pleased to meet again. We can well understand Mr. Motley's eagerness at the turn to which his studies have brought him, and with his relish for heroic incident and example, to leave 'the narrow precincts of the Netherlands.'

In one of the most ancient and famous libraries in this country hang in a conspicuous position two paintings rich in historical, indeed in romantic, attractions. Of the first picture one would guess, had one no other index but the artist's labour, that the man presented in it had been of noble and interesting quality, apt to entertain high hopes and rash designs, though there has come a look into his face as of amazement at some suddenly unveiled prospect of power and renown; one would guess that he would be bold and dashing in onset, and that at the beginning of a fray others would readily appeal to him, but that he might be proved too pliable and irresolute as the cavalier, in command through desperate encounters, of a cause where
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brain and heart should show as sure and firm as stroke of sword or seat in saddle. The other likeness, though not so well authenticated, suits even more admirably the individual it is reported to represent. A lady stands holding a lance; she wears a soldier's slouched hat covered with heavy yellow plumes which flap over her face and mix with her hair; a black and a red feather, half hidden in the background, join to make up the proud imperial colours of the head-dress; a closely-fitting string of pearls is round her neck, her black robe has sleeves of slashed yellow silk, and a yellow scarf is pinned with a jewel over the right shoulder. The male figure is that of the fugitive from the battle on the White Hill of Prague, the female that of his wife. Granddaughter of Mary, Queen of Scots, sister of Charles I., aunt of Charles II., her manner and physiognomy bear resemblance to each of these among her illustrious kindred, while they are eloquent besides of an originality and of adventures quite her own. It has by chance happened that the preceding pages were for the most part written in the shadow of these portraits. Thus we have been constantly reminded of the act which was to follow next in the drama of European history upon those we have been contemplating—of the conflict, some of the premonitory symptoms of which along the western borders of the Continent Mr. Motley, in the work before us, has ably and carefully described. Most cordially do we wish the historian of the Dutch Republic good speed to his narrative of the Thirty Years' War. His practised and still active hand will, we trust, give new life and spirit to the scenes in which the beautiful Elizabeth of Bohemia* assumes among princesses an engaging and uncommon attitude, and it will find its grasp and cunning strained to their utmost effort, as it disentangles destinies not less troubled, but of far deeper import and more lasting influence than those of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, 'King for a Winter'—as Carlyle expands the metaphor—'built of mere frost, a *snow-king* altogether soluble again.'

* We have tried to give an idea of a presumed portrait of her. She connects, we need scarcely remind our readers, the houses of Stuart and Brunswick, James I.'s daughter, George I.'s grandmother. Her mental charms were celebrated by Sir Henry Wotton in the well-known lines, beginning,

'You meaner beauties of the night.'

- ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence with Her Majesty's Missions abroad regarding Industrial Questions and Trades Unions.* 1867.—*Reports from Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Agents abroad respecting the Condition of the Industrial Classes.* 1870.—*Further Reports, &c.* 1871-72.
2. *On the History and Development of Gilds, and the Origin of Trade-Unions.* By Lujo Brentano, of Aschaffenburg, Bavaria, Doctor Juris utriusque et Philosophiæ. London, 1870.
3. *Zur Geschichte der Englischen Gewerkvereine.—Zur Kritik der Englischen Gewerkvereine.* Von Lujo Brentano, &c. Leipzig, 1871-72.
4. *Verhandlungen der Eisenacher Versammlung zur Besprechung der socialen Frage, am 6. und 7. October 1872.* Leipzig, 1873.
5. *Das Deutsche Handwerk und die sociale Frage.* Von J. F. H. Dannenberg. Leipzig, 1872.
6. *Die Lehren des heutigen Socialismus und Communismus.* Von Heinrich von Sybel. Bonn, 1872.
7. *Le Mouvement socialiste et les Réunions publiques avant la Révolution du 4 septembre 1870. Suivi de la Pacification des Rapports du Capital et du Travail.* Par M. G. de Molinari, Rédacteur du 'Journal des Débats.' Paris, 1872.
8. *L'Organisation du Travail, selon la Coutume des Ateliers et la Loi du Décalogue etc.—L'Organisation de la Famille selon le vrai Modèle signalé par l'Histoire de toutes les Races et de tous les Temps.—La Paix sociale etc. Réponse aux Questions qui se posent dans l'Occident depuis les désastres de 1871.* Par M. F. Le Play, etc. Paris, 1870-71.
9. *On Work and Wages.* By Thomas Brassey, M.P. Third Edition. London, 1872.
10. *Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes.* By A Journeyman Engineer.—*Our New Masters.* By Thomas Wright [the Journeyman Engineer]. London, 1867-73.
11. *The Lock-out of the Agricultural Labourers.* (From our Special Reporter.) 'Times,' April—June, 1874.

WHETHER or no England maintains her old renown of teaching the nations how to live, she may, of late years, certainly claim to have taught the nations how to strike. Having bestowed on the world railways, the iron railway-horse, ocean-telegraphy, and the penny-postage, she crowns all by diffusing the doctrine and discipline of Trades Unions. When the French operatives, sent to London by Prince Napoleon's International Exhibition Commission in 1862, came in communication with English work-people, they acquainted themselves, for the first time, says M. de Molinari,* 'with the principal organizations of

* 'Le Mouvement socialiste,' p. 176.

the Trades Unions, of which they had no previous notion, and immediately sought to use them for the realization of their Socialist scheme for arraying all the World's Labour against all the World's Capital.' Their efforts resulted in the formation of the since far-famed International Association, which held its first meetings in London in 1864. The main practical aim of that Association, as understood by the English Trades Unionists, with reference to the interests for which they were concerned, was to prevent the importation of foreign work-people on the occurrence of strikes. In the minds of its French, Belgian, and German associates its more important ulterior object was to place the powerful lever of the English machinery of Trades Unionism in the hands of the leaders of the Socialist Propaganda all over the world.

'England,' says M. de Molinari, 'has, since 1848, imported a considerable stock from the Continent of missionaries of Socialism; for example, the leaders of French and German Socialism, Louis Blanc, Karl Marx, &c. How does it happen then that English work-people, for the most part, have remained refractory to teachings which fanaticised their Continental brethren? This is to be ascribed doubtless to the practical good sense which forms, we may say, the predominant characteristic trait of the English mind, and which has rendered England the classic land of economic progress.'

While we have no objection to accept whatever compliments may be paid to the English character, we should be disposed, for our own part, to ascribe the scission which soon showed itself between the English Unionists and the foreign Propagandists of Internationalism to the longer experience which the former had enjoyed of industrial freedom. Since the repeal of our old Combination Laws a period has elapsed longer than that which is usually assigned to a generation of man. Since Trades Unions ceased to be secret and illegal, their leaders have had abundant opportunity of learning by experience the practical limits of what is attainable by their agency. But French and German labour has, we may say, lived in fetters till yesterday. The French law prohibitive of all operative combinations was not repealed till 1864, and even afterwards the meetings of work-people, like all other meetings, remained subject to the law which restricted their numbers to twenty, unless with official sanction. In the States now composing the German Empire, the laws prohibiting combinations were not finally repealed till 1869. Labour, therefore, had no opportunity, till those recent dates, of learning what we may call its practical politics. The wildest schemes of social subversion found easy access to the imagination of multitudes whose practical wants and interests had no legal representatives, and with whom the most visionary projects might find the readier audience,

audience, as they were never put in any substantive shape, or submitted to any actual experiment. They were the natural offspring of a *régime* of absolute repression of operative free-agency. Even since that *régime* has ceased to exist in the leading commercial countries, operative politics may still continue for some time as exclusively and mistakenly labour-protectionist, as the politics of their betters, till within these thirty years, were exclusively and mistakenly profit-protectionist. But it may safely be predicted that they will not continue to exhibit the fanatical extravagance, which is the distinctive badge of the politics of classes without political experience. The prevailing Socialism in the French and German working classes will, it may be hoped, not long survive the relaxation of the fetters on free discussion and free agency, which left nothing but 'the realm of dream' as a substitute for the world of realities.

It is curious to observe the different methods employed about the same time, under different *régimes*, to enlighten the popular masses on matters affecting their condition in our own and other countries. The British Government, between the years 1867 and 1872, took measures to inform itself and those most concerned of all the facts of the condition of the industrial classes in all the countries with which we hold diplomatic relations. The French Imperial Government, in 1868, suddenly flung open the flood-gates of popular discussion, which it had kept jealously closed for a score of years, and, instead of inviting the communication of knowledge from those who had it, let in upon its public an inundation of ignorance from those who could supply *that* in any quantity, with the unhappy fluency so often found in its company. Every hall disposable for public meetings in Paris was thronged by eager listeners (as afterwards during the two sieges) to the most rabid representatives of the most advanced Socialist schools. The *salles* of the 'Redoute,' the 'Marseillaise' at La Villette, and the 'Folie Belleville' resounded, in the passive presence of the then Imperial commissaries of police, with the old democratic-social rhapsodies of twenty years before, reproduced by a new generation of spouters of the same froth. 'Capital,' exclaimed one speaker, 'is accumulated shame.' 'Property,' said another, 'is not theft, as it has been styled by a well-known writer, it is assassination.' 'The workman who saves his earnings,' affirmed a third, 'is a traitor to his brethren.' (By the way, an Unionist delegate, not very long back, preached precisely the same doctrine to Mr. Gladstone.) The fruits gathered corresponded with the seeds sown by these opposite modes of promoting popular instruction in social economics. The English work-people have been enabled by the 'People's Blue-books' to convince themselves that there is no Sluggard's Eldorado even

under Republics, where the Communist ideal, proclaimed in the Paris reunions of five or six years back, is realized in this workday world—where absolute equality of condition is established ‘without distinction of industrial energy, talent, or virtue—absolute equality of wages, without distinction of quantity or quality of work—the value of all products of labour being solely estimated by the time taken to produce them.’* Among the French work-people an ignorant and fanatical Socialism, as might be expected, increased and multiplied from the seeds sown in the Imperially licensed gatherings of 1868-70, and reached its full pitch, as our readers are already aware, in the Clubs Rouges of the siege, and the final saturnalia of anarchy under the Commune.

In all discussions of the varying phases of the Labour question, whether at home or abroad, we must start from the ‘great fact’ that the time-honoured policy of legal prohibition of labouring-men’s combinations to sell to the best advantage the commodity, Labour, which they bring to market, has been deliberately and definitively abandoned by the three leading nations of Europe. England, France, and Germany have successively and solemnly renounced that policy. To produce this final and ultimate concurrence in so grave a decision, in the face of the manifest and manifold inconveniences, not to say social dangers, which have followed, and could not fail to follow, the emancipation of multitudes from long-worn fetters, there must have been felt moral and political necessities, such as to silence all scruples and misgivings. In future practical consideration of the Labour Question, whether at home or abroad, it is necessary to acquiesce in this foregone conclusion. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*

During the recent suspension of social vitality in France by war, petroleum, and martial law, Continental industrial movements have been pretty much confined to Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland. Cousin German, it must certainly be confessed, is learning to *striken* with an alacrity rivalling that of the celebrated German Baron whom a Frenchman found jumping over chairs and tables ‘*pour apprendre à être fif.*’ Strikes and lock-outs seem the order of the day in Fatherland, almost as much as in England. It may fairly be surmised that the French in-flowing milliards have not been unconnected with this unwontedly lively posture of the relations between Labour and Capital. Germany has been infected with a fever of speculation by French gold, and the labouring class, which cannot take part in tempting speculations, has sufficiently shown that, at any rate, it can strike for advanced wages.

We have before us a very able publication on the present

* Molinari, ‘Le Mouvement socialiste,’ p. 14.

condition of the German artisan-class by Herr Dannenberg of Hamburg, who made his voice heard succinctly but distinctly in the first Assembly 'for the Discussion of the Social Question' held at Eisenach on the 6th and 7th of October, 1872, and variously composed of prominent representatives of all sorts of opinions and interests—except of 'the Manchester school'—the one economic scapegoat which all seemed agreed in driving into the wilderness. Herr Dannenberg's views derive additional weight from the fact that they have been practically adopted in recent measures of the municipal government of that city. Herr Dannenberg traces the spread of Socialistic and Communistic doctrines—not to Trades Unionism, which he considers to have nothing in common with them—but to the dislocation of the whole pre-existing industrial economy, produced by the dissolution of the old Gild organization, which has not been replaced by a new. Man—working man especially—must, after all, have something to lean on. If he no longer finds the desiderated *point d'appui* in the old-established form of fixed customary relations with associates in trade and labour, he will be fain to catch at it in whatever new shape, and from whatever new quarter it is offered. This is a fruitful source of the ready receptiveness, especially of late years in Germany, of Socialistic and Communistic doctrines by a very large proportion of the working-classes.

If Trades Unionism has not generated Socialism, Trades Unionism, as well as Socialism, has been favoured by the collapse of the old Gild system. 'If,' says Herr Dannenberg, 'that collapse was expected to put an end to workmen's unions, a complete mistake was made, as is now indeed acknowledged on all sides. The old Gild of masters, journeymen, and apprentices has indeed ceased to exist, but in its place has arisen the separate journeymen's Gild—the Trades Union—which, in pursuit of its exclusive class interest, hostilely confronts the masters. The latter, as soon as they too have come to feel the disadvantage of isolation, bethink themselves in turn of forming *their* union against the journeymen. And thus, instead of one Gild, we have two Gilds, each of which has for its main object to maintain its force on a war-footing against the other. Those who fare worst between the belligerents are the third class, the apprentices, who completed the old organization, and for whose interest (that of training in the craft by which they are to live) nobody now cares at all.'

'The preference,' says Herr Dannenberg, 'which has hitherto been awarded to the German artisan in other countries, has been mainly founded on the more thorough training which the apprentice-worker has hitherto received in Germany. No one will pretend that the

German has innate aptitudes for technical excellence superior to those possessed by the French or English workman; and if the German in Paris excelled the Frenchman in tailoring, shoemaking, musical, mathematical, and surgical-instrument making, &c., his superiority did not lie in the Frenchman's inferior aptitude for those branches, but in the fact that a regular apprenticeship system did not exist in France or England [?]. The relaxation therefore of that system in Germany must not only make itself felt in the internal industrial economy of our own country, but must have the most serious consequences as regards the estimation in which the German working-class has hitherto been held abroad.'

Herr Dannenberg justifies his all but exclusive attention to the condition of German *handicraftsmen* by the large numerical preponderance of that class over factory work-people, and by the fact that, in many branches, it is in the artisans' workshops that the factory work-people get their training. Very important branches—machinery, for instance, and coachmaking—recruit their working force almost exclusively from the handicrafts connected with those branches of manufacture. Whatever therefore affects artisan-labour directly concerns the majority, and indirectly the whole body of the work-people. Owing also to their greater degree of personal freedom and individual independence, almost all trades' movements originate in the class of handicraftsmen. Of the strikes so prevalent of late years in Germany, ten at least have arisen among handicraftsmen for one which has owed its origin to work-people employed in factories.

It is clear, however, that the factory system is advancing towards that ascendancy in Germany which it has been gaining in England ever since the commencement of the present century. And it is appositely remarked by Mr. Morier, in the able paper contributed by him to the official 'Correspondence' of 1867, that the freedom of action exercised from the first in Germany by the employers of factory labour showed in strange contrast with the restrictions maintained, till within these few last years, on the employers of artisan labour. The millowners and manufacturing capitalists were the invading power, against which it was desired to defend the industrial position of the handicrafts. But, paradoxically enough, the factory capitalists, instead of being handicapped by legal restrictions in their wholesale competition with lesser producers, were left perfectly free to carry on any kind of work within the walls of their factories, whether in mass by ordinary millhands, or in detail by journeymen and apprentices; while, on the other hand, a very complete system of restriction was maintained in regard to all trades exercised by handicraftsmen as distinct from factory operatives. While, on the one hand, the master manufacturer could work in what manner
and

and by what hands he pleased, the master handicraftsman, who had served out his apprenticeship, worked his three years as journeyman, passed all his examinations, and paid all his fees, was confined in the choice of his workmen, and tied down to the statutes of his gild.

The latest development but one—or shall we say corruption?—of Labour Association is that which has been exhibited in the recent discords and extravagances of the motley fraternity claiming ‘International’ sway over the whole industrial world, while unable to preserve harmony or unity even in their own body. On one point at least the fragmentary and conflicting sections of that Association, which held their separate meetings in the course of last autumn at Geneva, remain unanimous—on the point, namely, that the common foe, with whom war *à outrance* is now to be waged by Labour, is *Capital*; in other words, that the portion of wealth invested in all civilized countries in the employment of labour becomes, by the fact of such investment, Labour’s enemy—an enemy against whom the most zealous and least instructed of these Labour champions proposed an instantaneous and effectual Social Revolution by an *Universal Strike*! The practical absurdity of such a proposition struck even the less rabid Socialist sectaries who met at Geneva. But the theoretical absurdity on which it was based remains inscribed on their banners—War of Labour against Capital!—Emancipation of handwork from all subordination to headwork, and of the industry of the present from all connection with, and all obligation to the stored wealth of, the past.

We have above adverted to the cross-purposes pursued from the outset by the British and some of the Continental fellow-founders of the noted or notorious ‘International Association.’ What the former looked for from it was such a compact alliance with their comrades in the ranks of labour abroad as should secure concerted action on both parts in case of conflict with their employers. But the then leading spirits amongst the foreign Internationalists had much more vast, if much more vague, objects. Nothing was in their minds or mouths but ‘Social Revolution.’ Nothing short of a Revolutionary Dictatorship, to be placed in the hands of an Executive Council supreme over all the doings of their constituents, seemed to them the agency equal to effecting that Revolution and establishing the absolute political and social domination of Manual Labour. It was this *Intransigente* revolutionary programme of theirs—namely, complete subjection to a new Committee of Public Safety, with a view to complete emancipation from all other Powers on earth—that produced the open schism in

in the Congress of the year before last at the Hague between the two parties—between the Industrialists proper and the Revolutionists proper—and has reproduced that schism at Geneva, in the ‘admired disorder’ of *two* assemblies, each claiming to be the sole legitimate representative of the original International Association.

It may be affirmed that neither International No. 1 nor International No. 2 at Geneva represented either the more eminent theoretical or practical characters of the Association, as it first came into existence. The men who had stamped those characters on the distinct sections of it (for bodies of that sort always split into sections) were conspicuous by their absence from either of the places of rendezvous of the Geneva Congresses of last autumn. It is now some years back since the first split took place between the followers of Marx and Proudhon at the Lausanne Congress. What they could have to quarrel about, in point of principle, may not be immediately obvious to outside observers. Had not Proudhon proclaimed ‘*La propriété c’est le vol,*’ and had Marx done anything more than follow out that principle logically to its Communistic consequences? But there are revolutionary rhetoricians, and Proudhon was eminently one of them, who have no idea whatever of having their revolutionary rhetoric taken at its word. Proudhon stood aghast in naïve consternation at the Revolution of 1848, as if his journal had been working for years at anything else than to bring about Revolution. Like most men of vivid imagination and mobile temperament, Proudhon disliked, as Rousseau did, to find himself challenged to put his paradoxes in action.

We believe we may say that none of the intellectual leaders of what we should call the *revolutionary* labour-movement among the working classes have belonged themselves to those classes, whether in the ranks of hand or head labour. It is true that the malcontent portions of the working-people throughout Europe lend their ears very readily to the sweeping generalities and sounding watchwords of their amateur agitators. This is always the case; the less the knowledge, the readier the reception of large and vague programmes. Ferdinand Lassalle, and Karl Marx, who survives him, are conspicuous examples in Germany, and the latter for many years past in England, of sterile but persistent agitation of practical interests on theoretical postulates. ‘Marx,’ says Professor von Sybel, in his noticeable lecture now before us on the doctrines of the Socialism and Communism of the present day, ‘is, as Lassalle was, no Proletaire, but the son of a Jewish member of the bourgeois class; and, like Lassalle, is a zealous disciple of the Hegelian philosophy.’

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The German democratic Socialists (whose above-mentioned leader, Ferdinand Lassalle, fell some years back in a duel arising from the *belli teterrima causa*, a woman-quarrel, in Switzerland) proceed on the assumption that 96 per cent. of the community are totally without capital (an assumption widely remote from truth, as we need scarcely tell our readers); that the remaining 4 per cent. alone possess it, and that from the alleged all-possessing 4 per cent. Labour has never got, and will never get, its fair due. In the interest, therefore, of the overwhelming majority—the 96 per cent. against the 4 per cent.—the State must take upon itself the function of a leviathan capitalist, and the risk of subsidising, or supporting by its credit, Labour-Associations in all branches. Now, it cannot be imagined that the State has inherited or saved capital for any such purpose. What must be proposed, therefore, is that the State should take it from those who have saved or inherited it—take it from the fabled 4 per cent. and lend it to the Labour-Associations of the alleged utterly indigent 96 per cent. The *modus operandi* is expressed under such euphemisms as the State lending its *credit* to such Associations. But credit is the shadow, capital the substance. If the State pledges its credit for the Labour-Associations, there must come an hour of reckoning. That hour will come when the State-dandled Associations *fail*. Then will the State be called upon to make good its promises to pay, in default of its *protégés'* solvency; and the liquidation by the State of the bankrupt undertakings it had propped by its credit can only be effected by confiscating the capital of those who have been saving capital, while the State has been incurring reckless engagements for the non-saving class. In short, the Lassalle Democratic-Socialist ideal of government is that of a sort of national Overend and Gurney Company 'Unlimited,' carried on for the supposed special benefit of the Proletariat, with nothing but confiscation of private capital to fall back upon. Well and good! till progressive taxation, or some other Democratic-Social screwing-machine, shall have transferred private capital, to the last florin, into the public treasury. According to the Lassalle assumption, the 96 per cent. had no capital before—the 4 per cent. have none left them now. What will the State then have to fall back upon, in continuing the course of its advances to fresh *protégés*? Its credit? That is gone with its (plundered and squandered) capital. Then comes the final smash of the Democratic-Social 'Overend and Gurney Unlimited;' then (too late) will be lamented the killing of the goose that had laid the golden eggs; then will the dream of universal wealth end in the wakening to universal poverty.

We

We might wade through a good many speeches of 'International' Congress oracles without finding much evidence of Socialist or semi-Socialist faculty for that 'collectivity of production' which is to supersede 'individualism' in the industry of the future. So many essentially different things are spoken of under the same name, that we must fix what is meant to be understood, in each case, by the name of collective or co-operative production, in order to form any judgment of the practicability or impracticability of what, in each case, may be proposed. There is no mistake about what is proposed by the Internationalists—namely, that the profits of production should accrue to the manual workers only; and that the capitalist employer is, the sooner the better, to be 'improved out of existence.' Well and good, if the manual workers are really the sole contributors to the production from which is derived the profit. But if the raw materials—the delicate and costly machinery—the money—the directing mind, even more essential—if all these are contributed by quite other persons than the manual workers, the contributors of these essential requisites must reap corresponding returns, or it is certain that their contributions will not be continued. It will then be seen what the manual workers can do for themselves, without the head workers, without the cash holders, without the advances of capital, without the aid of business talents and experience. Those who contribute these requisites to the work of production must be paid *their* wages. These wages are *profits*, and, it may be added, the workmen's wages, which are pre-paid in anticipation of profits not yet realized, are, in reality, just as much a share in those profits as the residue left for capital and direction after that pre-payment. It is an untenable position to say that workmen get no share of profits. They get in advance the share calculated to be due to their share in production. If the claim on their behalf is that their share of profits should increase with every rise which takes place in those of their employers, it may be said, firstly, that this is precisely what, in a rough way, is effected at present, since every prosperous period of trade excites competition for labour amongst employers, and enables labourers to demand increased wages. But if wages are to rise in exact proportion to every rise, they ought to fall in exact proportion to every fall in profits. That is a position not so readily admitted by the champions of Labour-profits, whether Unionist or International.

'Working men, as a body,' says the 'Journeyman Engineer,' 'think too much of capital in the abstract, they are too much given to see in an employer a capitalist, and nothing more. They do not see that capital, as they chiefly come into relation with it, as engaged in productive

ductive industries, is practically a *tool*—as much a tool, though in a larger way, as a hammer or file. They make no allowance for *capitalistic skill*, do not understand that it is as palpably and specially a skill as is mechanical skill, and as fully entitled to remuneration. The number of instances in which working men who have had no particularly great skill in their trade, technically speaking, have risen to be masters and capitalists in it; and the fact that, of men who have started with equal advantages in respect to mere money capital, some, though working hard, have come to ruin, while others have made fortunes, would, it might be thought, be sufficient proof to make the existence and importance of such a skill self-evident; but it has not had that effect with working men, and that is the chief cause of their estimating the natural rights of capital as almost *nil* as compared with those of labour.*

The Trades Union delegates examined before the late Inquiry Commission expressed themselves unable to understand how the interests of employers and labourers could be the same; the former having for their object to make the most they can of their capital, and the latter to make the most they can of their labour. But how, if the same principles of action which promote the one end also promote the other? How, if labour performed with all the energy which the workman can throw into his work, and wages proportioned to the results achieved by that energy, are reciprocal conditions of the *permanent* power to command either good wages or good work? No doubt, if employers could excite equal energy in their work-people by stinted as by liberal wages, or if workmen could permanently screw high wages from employers without giving good work in return, each might have hopes of acting successfully on the principle of giving the least possible to, and taking the most possible from, the other. But that is not the principle of permanent any more than of honest prosperity. It was a saying of the late Robert Stephenson, that ‘men should not try to eat each other up.’ A noble saying—which may condone much mistaken opposition to the cutting of the Suez Canal.

Amongst the most interesting portions of Mr. Brassey’s little volume on ‘Work and Wages’ are the detailed illustrations, chiefly from the railway-contracting experience of his late father, of the ‘great fact’ that the rate of wages furnishes no measure of the cost of production,—that the lowest paid labour, beginning with that of slaves, which is not paid at all, turns out in a large proportion of instances the dearest,—and the highest-paid the cheapest, when compared with the products obtained, or the

results achieved. Half-pay labour can be no source of profit, if the employer gets less than half-work for half-pay.

It must, however, be evident that exceptionally high rates of wages can only be afforded when exceptional energy of labour can be thereby obtained. The late Mr. Brassey found it better economy to pay high wages to English than lower wages to Continental railway labourers; but if he had had to deal with a Navy Union, prescribing how many strokes of pickaxe or yards of excavation should be done per man per day, the comparative cheapness of English high-priced labour would have speedily disappeared. Or had the incessant impediments which would have been thrown in his way by such an Union driven him to substitute machinery (supposing such substitution practicable) for much of the high-priced manual labour before employed, no Union whatever could have carried the point, on the part of the work-people, that navvies should still be employed at the old wages, merely to watch the new machines doing their old work. Precisely similar pretensions, however, were put forth by the operative engineers at Oldham in 1851, who struck against Messrs. Platts' firm to enforce them, and struck unsuccessfully. Similar ill-success attended the more extended strike of 1852, which effected indeed precisely the reverse of what its authors intended—further economy, namely, of labour by further inventions and improvements of labour-saving machinery. In England, as in America, the great stimulant to these has been scarcity of labour: in America produced by natural causes; in England by the artificial operations of Trades Unions and strikes. Mr. Nasmyth, in his evidence before the Trades Unions Commission, described very graphically how the long engineers' strike of 1852 made him anxious to develop to the utmost the use of labour-saving machinery.

'The great feature,' he said, 'of our modern mechanical improvement has been the introduction of *self-acting tools*. All that a mechanic has to do, and which any lad is able to do, is, not to labour, but to watch the beautiful functions of the machine. All that class of men who depended upon mere dexterity are set aside altogether. I had four boys to one mechanic; by these mechanical contrivances I reduced the number of men in my employ—1500 hands—fully one-half. The result was that my profits were much increased.'

Professor Brentano—whose essay 'On the History and Development of Gilds and the Origin of Trades Unions,' originally written for the Early English Text Society, has since been published separately, and who has further brought out in German two volumes entitled respectively 'History' and 'Critique' (a very apologetic critique) 'of English Trades Unions'—

Unions'—comments as follows on the above frank statement of Mr. Nasmyth:—

'Surely the love of gain cannot more openly declare itself the prime motive of human action! Surely there is here lacking the slightest spark of consciousness of the gross wrong done to the whole commonweal by such modes of action.'

And yet this same writer admits, in another page of his 'Critique of Trades Unions' (p. 263), that—

'the defeat of the machine-makers in the struggle of 1852 was not to be regretted. But for such defeats the labourers would probably become not less tyrannical than the employers often are now. Under existing circumstances, lock-outs on the part of employers are, without doubt, often justifiable. In like manner, as strikes, they are often acts of necessity.'

It may be permitted to ask Professor Brentano how the strike of the skilled workmen in question could have been defeated, unless by the invention of machinery rendering their skill superfluous? Or how, after such inventions are once accomplished under such pressure, it can be expected that they should be straightway rendered profitless by taking back into employment the high-paid workmen whose importunate exactions first forced them into existence and application? What is claimed apparently by the one-sided apologists of Trades Unions is that, while the workmen hold themselves free to consult their supposed interests, without even affecting the slightest regard to those of their employers,* the employers should remain bound to provide employment for those very workmen whose secession had led to mechanical improvements rendering their labour useless.

And now, after all, what is to be hoped or feared from Labour Movements and Labour Associations in the future? From Trades Unions, according to Mr. Brassey, who may be considered to speak with hereditary authority on these questions, there is not much either to be hoped or feared. Not much, that is to say, of any positive influence on the rate of remuneration which may in future accrue to labour. That will depend on the question whether, at any given time, employers or labourers happen to be the parties competing for labour or employment:—

'Their organization and united action,' says Mr. Brassey, speaking of the Unions, 'may secure an advance of wages at an earlier date; but eventually the competition among employers would be equally beneficial to the working people. The advantage to the working

* See the evidence of Messrs. Applegarth, Allan, and Connolly before the Trades Unions Commission.

classes of obtaining an advance at an earlier date is not, in my opinion, sufficient to compensate for the expense of perpetually maintaining, by heavy subscriptions, the Trades-Union organization, still less to compensate for the loss which is caused by unsuccessful strikes. . . . But the most protracted strikes in which the working men have been engaged have generally taken place, not for the purpose of securing an advance of wages, but for the purpose of resisting a fall. Resistance to a proposed reduction was the cause of the engineers' strike in 1852; of the strike at Preston in 1853; of the strike in the iron trade in 1865; and of the strike of the colliers at Wigan in 1868. In each of these cases the masters had found it necessary, in consequence of the depressed state of trade, to reduce the rate of wages; but the men, ignoring the circumstances of the trade, and looking only at what they believed to be a degradation of their position as workmen, refused to accept the reduction. They, therefore, went out on strike; but, after a protracted struggle, were compelled to accept the original proposal of their employers.'

There is one advantage, and one advantage only, as it appears to us, derivable from Trades Unionism on an extended scale,—one, we fear, far too unambitious to satisfy those who aspire to take a lead among their working comrades in Labour politics—politics, by the way, into which faction may be expected to enter at least as much as into other politics: that is, the advantage of collecting and diffusing information amongst work-people in all branches as to the actual state of demand for their labour in each locality, and thus enabling, in the common interest of workmen and employers, a deficiency of labour in one place to be supplied promptly from a surplus in another. But to confine themselves to this modest function of mere channels of information, in which the Unions, it must be acknowledged, sometimes do good service; would be to admit limits to their power which they do not think fit to recognise, and to strip themselves of a prestige in the eyes of their operative followers which they desire to retain.

It is nothing but the habitual want of combination amongst the employers that has sustained the prestige of the boundless power of combination amongst the employed. 'The power of combination,' says Mr. Brassey, 'has been proved, by experience of its results, to be at least as much for the advantage of the masters as the workmen. The defeat of the shipwrights on the Thames in 1852, and more recently the failure of the iron-workers' strike in Staffordshire, are conspicuous examples of the power which the masters acquire by combination among themselves.' Except under stress of adverse commercial circumstances, or active Unionist aggression, there is no combination at all amongst employers, who regard each other less as partakers of common interests than as business rivals.

Amongst

Amongst forms of Labour Association of the Future from which most is expected, Co-operation takes, by common consent, the first place.

It is essential, as we have already indicated, to make clear to ourselves what we precisely mean when we speak of Co-operation as some new moral and social discovery, which is to put an end to the alleged natural antagonism between Labour (receiving wages) and Capital. What has been meant by the word, by writers of some pretension to the title of economists, is a form of association of which the beneficent novelty consists in being composed exclusively of working men. The economic propounders of this panacea for all discords between Labour and Capital do, in fact, espouse the operative prejudices against Capital as a power hostile to Labour. And they have assumed from the success of the Rochdale Pioneers that industrial production on a large scale needs nothing for success but operative combination, and can afford to reject the aid of all Capital not actually saved by the working people, who are also to perform the whole of the labour required by the concerns of which they are at once shareholders and workmen. The fact that the Rochdale Pioneers themselves, when they set up manufacturing establishments on a large scale, threw this principle of exclusive operative dealing overboard, had no effect on our pseudo-philanthropic economists, except of provoking them to stigmatize their former favourites as the Iscariots of Co-operation!

The real truth is that there is nothing of absolute novelty, and still less any promise of an universal panacea for the ills of industry, in the exceptional fact of the success of associations operative in their origin, but which have invariably recognised, when they came to employ labour themselves, precisely the same distinction recognised by all other employers between what is due to Capital and what is due to Labour. It may here be observed that work-people, taken generally, show little alacrity to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by benevolent employers to acquire shares in the concerns for which they work. Of 9770 shares in Messrs. Briggs's Co-operative Colliery, 'only 264,' says Mr. Brassey,* 'are held by the workmen.' It must, moreover, be added that the working minority, who have invested their savings in those shares, show themselves the most jealous vindicators of the right of shareholding Capital to preferential dividends over those conceded to non-shareholding Labour. The non-shareholding work-people, it is truly alleged by their shareholding comrades, do

* 'Work and Wages,' p. 256.

not contribute so much as *they* do to the support of the concern in which both are engaged, and, therefore, are not entitled to an equal beneficial interest in it. In this instance, as in every other of successful co-operative association, the *élite* of the work-people, who have invested therein their small capitals, have seen clearly, and asserted firmly, their rights as workmen-capitalists, as distinguished from those of workmen pure and simple. Those co-operative associations which have been most conspicuous as commercial successes count many more operative *employés* than co-operative partners. And such *employés* are simply paid wages for their labour like other work-people. Thereupon great outcry from amateur Labour-champions and sensation-economists—a sort of writers whose standing quarrel with the nature of things and the force of facts fits them admirably for helping to swell to a more respectable figure ‘the beggarly account of empty benches’ at a future International Congress.

Mr. Fawcett cites, as the latest instance of the co-operative principle applied to agriculture, Mr. Brand’s offer to the labourers whom he employs on his farm, ‘to allow them to invest in the farm any money which they may save, receiving the same interest as he obtains on his capital.’* Nothing can be more legitimate than profits thus earned by investment of savings. Nothing, however, can have less in common with Mr. Fawcett’s fixed idea of profits in excess of wages as being somehow due to labour in all cases, without any such savings, or investment of savings at all. Workmen who do save, and who do invest their savings, are found, for the most part, amongst the strongest opponents of the co-operative principle in this its alleged purity.

Are we then to hope for no new forms of association between employers and work-people, comprising all grades of the industrial hierarchy, like the old Craft-Gilds, and affording opportunities for the operative contributors to industrial production to make their voice heard on all debateable points betwixt themselves and their employers? To this we may reply, in the first place, that the tendency of the age we live in is to get rid of old forms which have come to be regarded as fetters, rather than to institute new, and that the spirit of modern communities opposes ‘itself to all organizations setting up an *imperium in imperio*, and laying down laws of their own which may haply come in collision with the law of the land. The simpler the forms in which masters and workmen can agree to meet each

other the better—the important point is that they *should* meet each other on all occasions when matters of difference arise between them, and exchange words before they come to exchange blows. Employers who mean fairly by their work-people, and take pains to show it, seldom fail to find themselves met by work-people who mean fairly by their employers, and outside agitators are no match for those natural leaders of the army of industry who will but give themselves the trouble to take the lead. Messrs. Akroyd of Halifax, whose establishment is justly noted for the beneficent arrangements connected with it, stated, some years back, to the Social Science Association, that their firm made it a rule to receive with the utmost courtesy deputations of their work-people, bringing forward demands for a rise of wages, or redress of any real or supposed grievance, and to go into the subject, if necessary, at repeated meetings with them, till the matter of difference was, in almost all cases, arranged amicably. Mr. W. E. Forster gave in evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons as the reason why his work-people never had struck against him, that he had always received them personally, and given careful attention to every cause of complaint they might have to bring before him. We suspect the right honourable ex-manufacturer, in his late official position, found his Secularists considerably less amenable to reason than he had found his operatives.

‘When I had the privilege of accompanying my lamented father,’ writes Mr. Brassey, ‘on visits of inspection to works under construction, I was ever deeply impressed by his genial manner towards his old followers. He used to recognise many of the old navvies, even some whom he had not met for years, and address them by their Christian names. He would never omit to shake hands cordially with old gangers and sub-contractors, and when he met them in the works he would generally pull up for a few minutes to talk over old times, and ask after mutual acquaintances who had been employed on former contracts. A small manifestation of kindness like this how little it costs; how much it is valued!’

The instances above cited may perhaps be considered as above the average of ordinary individual employers, and it may still be asked whether no provision can be made for new forms of association between men of the common stamp of intellectual and moral mediocrity, which may be assumed to be that of the general run of employers and work-people. This question may be considered as, to some extent, practically answered in those trades and places where voluntary Boards or Courts of Conciliation have been established, with which the names of Messrs. Mundella and Kettle are honourably connected, and which,

which, so far as their operations have extended, seem to have really supplied means hitherto much desiderated for bringing workmen and employers in friendly personal contact, and facilitating the free and equal discussion of their relative rights and interests. We should for our own part regard as an advantage anything which would promote more of moral cohesion amongst employers, even apart from the advantage which we should expect to arise from more of frank communication with their work-people. The absence of combination amongst *the masters* for good purposes (and good purposes there are which such combination only could accomplish) goes some way to excuse the mistakes committed by the cumbrous and one-sided combinations of the work-people.* As matters now stand, it is impossible to affirm that the latter have any security that those permanent interests which masters and workmen have in common, will govern the conduct of all employers. If there is tyranny in the treatment, or attempted treatment, by the Trades Unions of all inside and all outside their pale, there is anarchy in the relations of the employers towards their work-people and each other. Out of that anarchy proceed the efforts of an unscrupulous minority, making haste to be rich, to supplant their more conscientious business-rivals in home and foreign markets, ultimately throwing on the work-people the heaviest consequences of their reckless speculations, in the shape of stagnation of trade or fall of wages. 'A melancholy illustration,' says Mr. Brassey,† 'of the disturbance in the labour-market caused by the inflation and subsequent collapse of trade, has been lately exhibited on the banks of the Thames. The number of men employed at the principal ship-building yards on the Thames was in 1860, 11,830; in 1869, 20,880; and in 1870, 3190. Making every allowance for the faults committed by the men, the principal share of blame for the disasters of the panic must, in justice, be laid on some of their employers.'

Mr. Brassey, in citing the highly honourable example set by his father in refusing to send in an unduly low tender for the execution of some projected railway works, saying that if business could only be obtained by screwing down wages, he would rather be without it, adds: 'A similar feeling I believe to be generally entertained by employers.' We hope it may be said with equal foundation that a similar feeling is entertained by employers generally against such fraudulent practices as have

* The objects of the lately established 'National Federation of Associated Employers' seem to be simply self-defensive. We should have wished to see them self-regulative also.

† 'Work and Wages,' p. 241.

recently been exposed in the Manchester trade, and the ultimate consequence of which, if they continue unchecked and prevalent, must be to dethrone this country from its once well-won position of manufacturing and commercial pre-eminence, so far as that position was won by manufacturing and commercial probity. Employers generally, we are heartily willing to believe, dislike and deprecate those practices. But they do not combine against them ; they do not set up amongst themselves an authority which should excommunicate all who lapse into them from reputed membership of their body. There ought to be recognised trade jurisdictions on the employers' as well as on the workmen's side—whether endowed or not (and we do not see why not) with legal authority to enforce their decisions—under whose cognizance should come all deviations from honest modes of doing business, and who should be armed by their constituents (and, we repeat, we do not see why not by the National Legislature) with adequate powers of condign animadversion on all such deviations. At this price only, we are disposed to believe, will employers generally acquire or recover due influence over those they employ. If an aristocracy of honour and honesty cannot be established, or re-established, in the former class, it will be idle to quarrel with a democracy equally destitute of those qualities in the latter.

It is painful to have to confess that hitherto the most prominent instances of organization of employed and employers working together to one end have been those where both have been working together against the public. In former times, when coal was the monopoly of a single district, the great coal owners of the North acted in regular and avowed combination for what was called 'limiting the vend,' *i.e.* abstaining from raising or shipping coal in such quantities as to lower its price in the London market below the figure at which they desired to keep it. In those times, the pitmen were employed on a system of yearly hiring, and continued in regular receipt of their wages, whether they worked or not. Their employers preferred paying them for not working at those seasons at which their policy of 'limiting the vend' came into play. Afterwards it suggested itself as an improvement on that policy to abolish annual hirings, so that the coal owners dispensed themselves from paying wages when they stopped work. But in these latter days, the pitmen have taken their turn of limiting labour, with the improvement, in *their* sense, of exacting increased wages for diminished work. The vend is now limited by the refusal of the pitmen either to do more work themselves or to suffer relays of labour to be brought in to supply their deficiency. And now, as in old times, the coal owners still find their account in starved markets, by

finding themselves in receipt of scarcity prices for short supplies of a prime necessary of life. *Quousque tandem?* may be well asked, on the part of the much and long suffering public.*

The recent phenomena of Trades Unionism in the counties are not without analogy, as marking an epoch of industrial transition, with the anarchical accompaniments of the abolition of the old German guilds and the old Russian serfdom. By the whole system of legislation and rural administration, which had been piled for centuries on the basis of the Elizabethan Poor Law and of the Caroline Settlement Law, English agricultural labourers had been *ascripti glebæ*,—barred all outlook and all outgoing beyond their parish. The forefathers, for long back, of the landlords and farmers of our days, by their parliamentary and parochial action, had enormously complicated the original scope and provisions of the old Poor Law of Elizabeth by imposing on parishes, partly in a spirit of mistaken charity, partly on the impulse of an equally mistaken self-interest, not only the duty laid on them by that statute, of providing employment and sustenance for those who used no trade whereby to get their living, but also the duty of eking out by parochial doles the wages of those who *did* get their living by farm or other labour.

‘Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.’

Consequently, under the old Poor Law, as aggravated by the old Allowance System, it became the plain and palpable interest of the ratepayers of each parish to guard jealously against labouring immigrants from other parishes obtaining legal settlement within *theirs*, and thus obtaining legal claims to relief in case of destitution. Nay, it became their interest to thrust outside their boundaries—as regarded their habitations—even the labourers whose sources of livelihood lay within them, and to contrive, if possible, that those employed by themselves should receive their parish doles in aid of wages from others. Thus the agricultural labourer was, on the one hand, bound to the soil of his own parish, inasmuch as no other would let him migrate thither; and on the other hand, in very many cases, severed from the soil he tilled for fear he should become chargeable on that soil when he could till no longer. In very many cases, under the old Poor Law and Settlement Law, landlords and farmers were tacitly leagued to pull down rather than build

* The present state and prospects of the coal and iron trade have made the recent period of inflation in both a matter of history. These vicissitudes, taken in connection with their causes, are full of warning for the future.

cottages on their farms. It suited their interests—*quà* ratepayers—better that their labourers should live anywhere else than where they worked. Hence it has been a notorious fact that, in very numerous instances, agricultural labourers have had to find lodgings in the outskirts of towns, three or four or even five miles from the farms which employed their daily labour. There is no one cause to which the deficiency of labourers' cottages was so distinctly traceable as it was traceable to the ratepayers' interest against their erection and maintenance created by the old Poor Law and the old Settlement Law. The reforms accomplished in these laws within our own times, especially the change, quite of late years, in the old Law of Settlement, have had an effect analogous to the abolition of serfdom in Russia, in emancipating agricultural labour in England from its parochial fetters, in conferring on it that freedom of movement, that *Freizügigkeit*, which the abolition of the time-honoured gild system has also quite lately conferred on the working classes in Germany. The English labourer no longer finds legal obstructions thrown in his way, when he adventures migration beyond the narrow bounds of his parish. He no longer finds, wherever he may seek for employment, the old feeling uppermost—not that his work might not at present be worth its wages, but that, at some future time, he might become chargeable when he was past work. If all the evil which that feeling, meeting them wherever they moved, inflicted on the English labouring class under the old Poor Law, were set against all the good parish doles have ever done them, he must be a bold man indeed who would affirm that the benefits outweighed the injuries.

The worst effect of the old *régime* of restriction and pauperism was that, while eking out wages with alms, it rendered work hardly worth wages. If the Dorsetshire peasant had sunk into the stolid recipient of 9s. a week, Canon Girdlestone might perhaps have found one reason for it in the fact that his labour might have really become worth no more. For the purpose of popular rhetoric, his case might be the best to select as that of the typical 'agricultural labourer;' but for the purpose of fair comparison and practical instruction, it would have been as well to contrast it with the condition of other districts, where better work commands better pay. The extended market for labour opened of late years by freer and more facile locomotion has been, of itself, producing without the aid either of ecclesiastical or unionist agitators, an equitable adjustment of wages to work in agriculture as in other employments.

Mr. James Caird, in a letter published in the 'Times' of the 3rd of January last, giving the results of extensive and long-

exercised observation of the agricultural economy of the past, and anticipations, founded on those results, of the agricultural economy of the future, makes the following statement of the present, as compared with the past condition of the English agricultural labourer,—a statement which derives, from the long-continued attention which the author has devoted to the subject, an authority very different from that of the stump-oratory of agricultural agitators:—

‘The condition of the English agricultural labourer has much improved within recent years—more so than is shown by the weekly rate of wages, for that in most parts of the country is considerably increased by what is earned by piece-work. It does not now compare unfavourably with the condition of other classes of labourers in towns, and his earnings probably give him as great a command of the necessities of life as those of the skilled workman or the lowest grade of public *employés*, who have to pay out of their salaries 8s. or 10s. a week for the humblest accommodation for themselves and their families. The country labourer in many counties in the South has his cottage and garden and garden allotment for 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. a week, from which, in addition to lodgings, he provides himself with vegetables and potatoes, articles which must be paid for at retail prices by the workman in town. I have before me the exact earnings during the past year of sixteen married labourers on a corn and sheep farm in Hampshire, where the wages are nominally 13s. a week, but where piece-work is encouraged and as much as possible practised. The average actually earned by each of these men under this mixed system of day and piece-work was a little over 16s. 6d. a week, or 26 per cent. more than the nominal wages. None of them earned alike, the difference arising from greater industry, capacity, or opportunity being very considerable, some averaging more than 20s. and some not exceeding 13s. 6d. These men have good cottages and gardens and garden allotments, for which they pay from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 9d. a week. Their wives and a boy or girl at certain seasons contribute something to the common store. In this case they added on the average 4s. 2d. to the weekly earnings of each household, making the total 20s. 8d.; and this is no uncommon example at the present day, but is quite capable of being realized by industrious men where the system of piece-work is adopted—a plan at once advantageous to the labourer and economical and effective in its results to the employer.’

Referring to the past, as compared with the present, Mr. Caird states as follows:—

‘Twenty-three years ago I concluded in your columns an inquiry into the agricultural condition of England. At that time I ascertained the rate of wages in the various counties, and compared it with the wages in the same counties when visited by Arthur Young in his tour eighty years before. I found a marked distinction between the

the wages in the Northern and Southern counties, in favour of the former, and exactly the opposite of Young's experience, the wages in 1770 having been lowest in the North. In 1850 the wages in the Northern counties were 30 per cent. higher than in the South, and that difference is fully maintained to the present time. It will be convenient to show here the wages of agricultural labourers in these three periods in the North and South:—

	1770.		1850.		1873.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Average weekly wages of Northern counties	6	9	11	6	18	0
Average weekly wages of Southern counties	7	6	8	5	12	0

‘There have been many changes since 1850, one of the latest and most satisfactory being an improvement in the prospects of the agricultural labourer in the Southern counties, partly the result of the freedom he acquired by the alteration of the Law of Settlement, one of the measures most urgently pressed as indicated by that inquiry.’

It would have added to the instructiveness of Mr. Caird's review if he had pointed attention to the fact that, in bygone times, it was in the Southern more than in the Northern counties that the landlords and farmers carried into operation the system of parish allowances in aid of wages, first introduced on a large scale, with parliamentary sanction, in the earlier years of the long war with France, and intended to compensate to married labourers with families the high prices of the necessities of life which ruled in those years. It was intended, as a statesman of that day expressed it, to render a large family a blessing instead of a curse—by Act of Parliament. The blessing of large families was undoubtedly promoted in rural parishes by this measure; but as the merit of begetting them became the sole title to increase of agricultural wages, that merit became the sole merit cultivated by agricultural labourers.* Thence, mainly, the reversal of the previous relative condition of North and South. Agricultural improvements bore their legitimate fruits in the former region; while in the latter, the elevating effects they should have had on the labourers' condition were in great measure nullified by the deterioration in the quality of

* The following striking illustration of the pestilent effects in East Anglia of the old Poor Law allowance system in aid of wages, is given by the ‘Times’ Special Reporter (May 16, 1874):—‘The other man (one of two farm labourers talked to by the reporter) recollected times when half the labourers or more used to be on the parish at one time or other during the year; when men were hung for incendiary fires; and the single men used to be paid a shilling a week less wages than the married men, though they might be better workers. The natural result was a premium upon early improvident marriages, and the labourer with whom I talked shyly owned he had married, as many other young fellows did, chiefly with a view to the extra shilling.’

labour caused by the so-called Allowance System in aid of wages. Matters are mending southward as well as northward, since parliaments and justices of the peace have ceased to adjust wages—not to the comparative value of the recipients' labour, but to the comparative fecundity of the recipients' wives. Matters will continue to mend, doubtless, in exact proportion as—labourers becoming more instructed—their labour shall become more efficient and more productive, and they shall attain a position to command better pay for better work. If it were the aim of the Unions to promote this increased energy of labour and its proportionate recompense, we should wish, for our part, God-speed to the Unions. But the aim of the Unions is not so single or simple as this. The very idea of wages as naturally corresponding, in a normal state of things, to the value of work done, is strange to them. What they affect power to obtain for their clients, from whom they levy weekly tribute, is an artificial rate of wages, screwed up by all sorts of Protectionist devices for lessening instead of increasing the efficiency of labour and the amount of its products. The old notion remains rooted in their minds, which was the notion of the whole mercantile world in the ages preceding Adam Smith, that one party to a commercial bargain can only acquire a gain by compelling the other party to that bargain to submit to a loss. This was universally believed of all commercial transactions between nation and nation. It is still believed by Trades Union leaders, and those who follow their lead, to be the general law of all transactions between employers and labourers. Increased wages can only come to agricultural labourers by setting up Union-machinery to screw the increase out of rents or profits. That they can and ought to be *earned* by better instructed and more efficient *labour* is an idea inconceivable to Trades Unionists generally, and apparently to one member at least of the Episcopal Bench. 'You are angry with me,' writes the Bishop of Manchester to Lady Stradbroke,* 'for saying that, if farmers cannot pay better wages, and at the same time make a reasonable profit on their capital, rents must come down. . . . I beg to ask your Ladyship, *what other source there is for better wages to the labourer but either from the profits of the farmer or the rent of the landlord?*' That there should be a source of better wages to the labourer in the acquired and exerted ability to give his employer better work for better pay, is an idea one is prepared to expect to find absent from the minds of the John Balls of the nineteenth as

* 'Times,' April 22, 1874.

of the fourteenth century. In Bishop Fraser we can ascribe only to a slip of the pen the appearance of the like total want of perception of so plain a truth. An apt instance of the manner in which increased wages may be earned more easily by effective labour than by Unionist agitation, is afforded in the following extract from a dialogue at which the 'Times' Special Reporter was present, between Mr. Henry Stanley, of Bury St. Edmunds, and his labourers. Mr. Stanley, who is honorary secretary of the West Suffolk Defence Association, farms 700 acres of his own land, which he purchased four or five years ago in very bad condition, and has since, by a liberal outlay of capital, doubled the number of labourers employed upon it, and introduced the use of the threshing machine and the steam plough. Mr. Stanley's labourers, under their recent Union inspiration, suddenly left him just on the eve of last harvest. They had asked to be taken back afterwards, and were taken back.

"We farmers," said Mr. Stanley to his men, "feel that we cannot, after employing so much capital to obtain a crop, have that crop put in danger, as mine was last year, for the want of labour to gather it. . . . You know how I was left last harvest. That shows what your Unions will do. How can you expect us farmers to bear such things? We get a fine crop on the ground, and our year's profits depend on getting it in quickly and well, and just at the moment you leave us. That's your Union." Men.—"Well, master, but we've a right to better ourselves, you know, and most on us made more last harvest than you offered us." Farmer (singling out the spokesman).—"Now, what did you make?" Man.—"I made 11l., master." Farmer.—"How did you make it?" Man.—"I took the harvest at 12s. an acre, and finished in a month and three days." Farmer.—"Well, haven't I, year after year, asked you all to work on that system"—i.e., taking the harvest by the acre instead of contracting for the whole job—"and haven't you, year after year, said you would rather go on upon the old system, though I showed you by figures you could earn more money under the new one?" Men.—"Yes, that's true enough, master." Farmer.—"And then you leave me and do with a stranger what you wouldn't do with me?"*

The Protectionist delusion, propagated by the Trades Union leaders, that increased wages are to be got by screwing them out of rents or profits, and not by increased productiveness of labour aided by capital, is likely to receive rude practical confutation in either of two conceivable events of the present struggle. If Capital is deterred from agricultural investment by perpetual agitation, agriculture, and the producers and consumers of agri-

cultural produce, will alike suffer. If, on the other hand, the Unions are not destined to succeed in artificially crippling labour; if agricultural improvement is to continue to advance, and agricultural wages to rise, those results will be due precisely to the triumph of the principle of Production over that of Protectionism. It is somewhat ominous of the first of the two alternatives above indicated, that during the last year, for the first time since the publication of the Agricultural Returns, the annual increase of new land reclaimed and brought into cultivation has received a check. 'The figures for the present year' (1873), says Mr. Caird, 'give an addition of 340,000 acres to the permanent pasture, and show a diminution of some 200,000 acres taken out of cultivation. This is coincident with the first serious alarm created by the Labourers' Union, and will of itself have displaced the labour of many thousand men.' On the other hand, the experienced and apprehended dictation of the Labourers' Unions has recently given an immense stimulus in agriculture, as formerly in other branches of industry, to the employment of labour-saving machinery.

So far then as matters have hitherto gone, Trades Unionism in agriculture, as in every other branch of industrial production affected by its action, has had for its main and most important effect the giving an immense impulse to invention, or to the application of inventions already made for economising human labour. The object of the Unions has been, by artificial regulation of labour, to obtain the highest wages for the greatest numbers possible. Their effect has been to reduce the numbers employed to the indispensable minimum, and to precipitate the substitution, wherever practicable, of machinery for hand-labour. We have seen by Mr. Nasmyth's evidence before the Trades Unions Commission, to what an extent this has been done in that branch of skilled labour in which that gentleman raised himself from the ranks to well-earned eminence amongst the 'Captains of Industry.' We are now seeing to what an extent this is practicable, and is being effected in that branch of industry which has hitherto troubled itself less than any other to economise labour, or supply its scarcity by machinery. Necessity, the proverbial mother of Invention, is setting the farmers on finding substitutes for labour which Unionism is rendering unreliable, and Invention is rapidly answering the maternal call of Necessity. 'Until harvest,' the 'Times' Special Reporter is informed, 'the farmers will be able to tide over very well.' 'And what then?' I asked.

'My informant thought the farmers would be in no difficulty even then; and he is corroborated by other authorities. "The tinkers
and

and the tailors" will come from the towns. A few strong men are wanted to pitch the sheaves into the waggon. Little or no skill, however, is required nowadays. Scythe and sickle are now as much out of date as the barn flail. Ticing-up is a simple process, and the reaping-machine does the rest. As I stated the other day, the implement-makers are using great efforts to perfect a machine which will follow the reaper and dispense with hand-tieing, and this valuable labour-saving invention will be chiefly due to the lock-out. In other ways the lock-out will, for the time, be a fine thing for the implement-makers, for it will set farmers upon buying elevators and other labour-saving machines. Returning to the prospects of harvest, I find a general belief that sufficient labour will be forthcoming even without the men now locked-out. If not, these men will be glad enough to come back in order to earn harvest wages, and at such a time "no questions will be asked."

This agricultural agitation would have been almost worth encountering—if for nothing else—for the mere sake of exposure of the monstrous exaggerations which have hitherto had unquestioned currency as to the condition of the agricultural labourer. The cottagers of Cheveley or of the villages around Bury St. Edmunds will have little to thank their Unionist guides for, if they agitate them out of their quiet homes and gardens into the harder labours and sharper climate of Canada or the solitary squattings and 'magnificent distances' of Queensland. The 'Times' Special Reporter has done good service by setting before the public the unvarnished and unblackened picture of the agricultural labourer and his surroundings. With such exceptions as have been greedily seized upon by sympathetic stump-orators, of squalid and overcrowded cottages (for instance, in the villages of Burwell and Exning), it comes out clearly from the 'Times' Special Reports that the liberality of the landlords and the cessation, in late years, of the discouragements to the building and maintenance of cottages under the old Poor Law, are rendering unfit habitations for farm labourers an exceptional relic of the past, much rather than a general rule of the present.* The cottages on the Duke of Rutland's property at Cheveley, those on Mr. Mackworth Praed's at Ousden, may be cited amongst numerous other instances of the modern march of

* Mr. John Ball, ex-agricultural labourer and ex-Methodist preacher, expresses a dislike, natural in grievance-traders, to seeing new cottages built. 'He saw that on many farms new cottages were being built, and he warned the men that if they went to live there they would forfeit their freedom and have to work for pretty much what the farmer chose to give them. . . . What was expected from them in a village was a deal of bowing and scraping. If they took off their hats to the village clergyman a long way off, he would say, "How do you do?" It was funny for one paid servant to expect this homage from another.'—'Times,' May 27, 1874.

improvement. 'The fact,' says the 'Times' Reporter, is 'alleged by farmers wherever I have gone, that women are now obtained with difficulty for any kind of agricultural labour. They stay at home and mind the house, and the reason must be that there is less need for them to add to the husband's earnings by field-work.' *There* is a trait which may contrast very advantageously with France or Germany, to say nothing of raw settlements across the Atlantic or at the Antipodes.

It does not follow—and we are glad to see that this is discerned by influential members of the farming and land-owning body themselves—from the antiquated and perverse persuasions which are in truth at the root of the larger part of Trades Unionist action and attempts at action, or from the precisely opposite results produced to those aimed at, that Trades Unionism can therefore be 'stamped out' by coercion in the counties any more than in the towns, or that labourers can be prevented by the mere authority of their employers from forming combinations, deliberately allowed by law. As the irritation excited in the rural districts by the recent irruption of Unionism calms down, and the exaggerated fears and hopes from its aggressive and pretentious agency shrink within limits drawn by reason rather than imagination, employers and labourers may be content to take up their respective positions on grounds which do not compromise on either side that free agency which is the birthright of all orders of men in a free country. While, on the one hand, the farmers cannot be expected to accept the decisions of Union delegates on disputes about wages, or any other matters, between themselves and their men—labourers, on the other hand, cannot be expected to forego the legal right of combination to support their own views of their own claims and interests. Lord Waveney has suggested arbitration by land-owners between farmers and labourers in such cases—a suggestion which had been anticipated in action by Sir Edward Kerrison, and seemingly with success*—though, it must be admitted, parliamentary and magisterial precedents have proved that landlords have not always been infallible authorities on agricultural economy.† After all, the Unionism of this generation is a rural apparition of less fatal portent than the rick-

* 'Times,' June 4, 1874.

† Burke in his 'Thoughts and Details on Scarcity' (1795) treated with contempt the assumption, which seems to have been as popular then as now, 'that the farmer oppresses the labourer, and that a gentleman called a justice of the peace is the protector of the latter, and a control and restraint on the former.' . . . 'The squires of Norfolk,' he wrote, '*had dined*, when they gave it as their opinion that the rate of wages might or ought to rise and fall with the market of provisions.'

burning of the last; and the Balls and Arches, if not exactly *personæ gratæ* in agricultural high places, are preferable to such firebrands (without metaphor) as the 'Captain Swing' of 1830.

The greater or less contradiction and hostility of the politics and economics of Labour to those of Capital, Commerce, and the higher grades of cultivated intelligence, may be taken as the measure of less or more advanced political progress. There must be some point of coincidence between all honest interests in civilized and industrial communities; and the practical problem is to ascertain that point, and to take our stand on it. That there should be any separate political and economic creed of Labour shows that a right understanding has not yet been arrived at of the mutual dependence and mutually beneficial relations between those classes and orders, which form in all countries the natural social and industrial hierarchy.

Armed peace, as Europe has good reason for knowing, is the next worst thing, and the sure prelude, to war. Yet armed peace, or rather truce, has become in these days the least hostile posture between Labour and Capital in the three most advanced nations—England, France, and Germany. It may be asked, as well with reference to the industrial as to the national system, Is that posture to be perpetual? And the answer depends on that which may be made to this other question: Is there really any natural antagonism, threatening to be perpetual, between Labour and Capital? Sam Johnson's admonition, 'My dear sir, clear your mind of cant,' might be altered in these days to 'My dear sir, clear your mind of abstractions.' Labour and Capital!—imposing aggregates—signifying, however, simply, in everyday life and work, hands to do or make, and means to pay for doing and making, whatever is wanted to be made or done. Unless it is asserted that all the moneyed and other capital is in hands which ought not to be allowed to hold it, and all the work in hands which ought not to be expected to do it, what can be the rational sense of 'natural antagonism' between those who are ready to give work for money and those who are ready to give money for work? The one party supplies exactly that which the other wants. The terms of the commerce between Capital and Labour, as of all other commerce, are of course a matter for fair negotiation between seller and buyer. But what propriety is there in describing *negotiation* as *antagonism*? If you go into a shop, is there a natural antagonism between you and the shopman? If you go on 'Change, are all these men of merchandise in smug civil costume so many natural antagonists in interne-cine conflict? Why is the ordinary 'higgling of the market,' which meets us everywhere, to be spoken grandly of as 'natural antagonism,'

antagonism,' when the parties to the bargain happen to be a mechanic or labourer on the one hand—on the other, an employer who finds pay for his work? If work equivalent to the pay is not performed, or pay equivalent to the work is not given, *there* doubtless is a source of natural antagonism. But where nothing else is on either side intended but a fair exchange of equivalents, the notion of natural antagonism is a mere maggot of malcontent brains. So far as that goes, the working 'hand,' and the employer or customer who demands his handiwork, stand on a footing of complete commercial equality and exchange of equivalents. If what is meant to be made a grievance (sensational-economists do make a grievance of it) is the degradation alleged to be involved in belonging to a manual labouring class at all, so much may be conceded to such complainants—that the manual labouring class does occupy the ground floor and not the first floor of the social fabric. If all are degraded who are not elevated above manual occupations, then a society must be dreamed of in which there shall be either no manual workers or all manual workers. To *such* 'Labour-emancipators' we can only say, Let us have your whole scheme before us. Let us know what social state you really aim at constituting. And meanwhile leave your iteration about natural antagonism between class and class. What you really object to seems to be that civilized modern society arranges itself into any classes at all.

It must not be imagined that the mere extravagance of such principles affords the slightest security that very serious collisions may not yet be impending between the champions and assailants of all that has hitherto constituted the social and industrial system of Europe. Madness with a method is never a force to be despised: the fanatic Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, and the fanatic Fifth-Monarchy men of the seventeenth, are not without politico-economical successors in the nineteenth in one essential dogma, put on record in the often-cited Resolution ascribed to some armed sectaries of Cromwell's day—'Resolved, 1stly, That the Saints shall inherit the earth. Resolved, 2ndly, That *we* are the Saints.' For Saints read Socialists, and we have precisely the modern programme of the Republic Democratic and Social. It is not because such doctrines have no solid economic foundation that they may not find thousands prepared to embrace—even prepared to fight for them. All that multitudes want, when there are circumstances in their condition to make them discontented, are a few leading principles—the larger and the more sweeping the better—which, from the mouths and pens of ready speakers and writers, may supply reasons for their passions.

passions. And be it always remembered, that the sources of discontent are as often moral as material. Tocqueville has well remarked that it is not when public administration or public burthens are most oppressive that revolt against them is most likely to occur. It is when the yoke of authority and the burthens it imposes are in course of being lightened, that popular impatience is apt to run ahead of all practical and practicable reforms. When, so to speak, only the last feather remains on the camel's back, the cry waxes loudest that it is the last feather which breaks it.

Amidst the confusion of ideas, amidst the artificially fomented social antagonisms and moral corruption, too widely prevalent in old civilized communities, one almost doubts sometimes whether the best hope of humanity may not be, once more, to be turned out to grass. 'So often,' says Le Play, 'as corruption has invaded the civilized nations of the Old World, the pastoral populations have always been Nature's reserve-force for their reform and regeneration by conquest. They have performed that function, at recurring periods, for the Chinese empire, and are ready to resume it for the now dominant European races, if these should, at some future time, as in the last days of decadence of Imperial Rome, sink into a condition of which they can neither endure the evils, nor supply the remedies by any surviving virtue or energy of their own.'*

What has been, may be—all our railroads, telegraphs, daily newspapers, ironclads, steel cannons, and breech-loading rifles notwithstanding. Material forces and machinery avail nothing, when those moral and social forces, which first combined to create, and must still combine to work them, have been crippled and disorganized by that last ill of old nations, the War of Rich and Poor.

ART. VII.—1. *New Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun ; its Annals during the past Twenty Years, recording the remarkable Progress of the Japanese in Western Civilization.* By Samuel Mossman. London, 1873.

2. *The History of Japan from the Earliest Period to the Present Time : Vol. I. to the Year 1864.* By Francis Ottewell Adams, F.R.G.S., H.B. Majesty's Secretary of Embassy at Berlin ; formerly H.B. Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Secretary of Legation at Yedo. London, 1874.

* *La Réforme sociale en France*, vol. ii. p. 455.

3. *The Legacy of Iyeyas (deified as Gongen Sama), a posthumous Manuscript in One Hundred Chapters.* Translated from Three Collated Copies in the Original by John Frederic Lowder, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Legal Adviser to the Board of Revenue and the Customs in Japan. London.

MR. MOSSMAN, though modestly disclaiming 'the high functions of a historian,' has endeavoured 'to lay before the reader a clear and succinct narrative of the most important occurrences in its recent annals, culled from the best authorities,' with a view not only to elucidate its present condition, but to throw light upon its past history. That this is a difficult undertaking may be readily believed, when we are told, that 'notwithstanding the numerous historical and descriptive accounts of Japan and the Japanese which have appeared from time to time, a comprehensive and authentic history of the country, its people, and institutions, has yet to be written in a European language; and for this to be undertaken by a foreigner competent to do justice, he must not only be a Japanese, but a Chinese, linguist, and have access to the national archives, written chiefly in the latter character.' We must agree therefore with Mr. Mossman 'that this is a task impossible for foreigners to accomplish—at least unaided by native scholars;' even if it were less true that 'hitherto the information gleaned from native sources concerning its history has been, for the most part, mythical, meagre, and unreliable.' He quotes a late Minister in Japan, who said that 'the incorrigible tendency of the Japanese to withhold from foreigners, or to disguise, the truth on all matters great and small; and consequently the absence of reliable elucidations of their character, institutions, and system of government, constitutes a great obstacle in getting at the facts;'—and the correctness of this opinion appears to be acknowledged by all who have ever had any dealings with the Japanese in their own country. Hence, although the author may be right in his conclusion, that we have now 'a fair amount of authentic data to furnish a record of its recent history,' and that it is highly desirable these 'should appear in a collected form, such as will be found in this unpretending volume,' we must warn our readers not to be too critical in noticing numerous inaccuracies and mistakes as to names, titles, and other matters purely Japanese. Such errors are all but unavoidable where a writer has to quote from a very miscellaneous collection of records, unaided by any personal acquaintance with the places, the people, or the language. Some of these are, fortunately, of no great importance, though others there are, misleading in reference both to the facts and the personages

personages referred to. A few of these we may more particularly advert to as we proceed; and as these might easily be rectified by a list of errata on a fly-leaf, we trust the author will lose no time in supplying it. Despite such flaws in execution, the conception of the work, and the consecutive narrative it furnishes of the leading events, since the first treaty with a foreign Power was negotiated in 1854 by Commodore Perry, deserve great praise. It supplies a want, and will enable the reader to obtain with little labour a good general idea of a series of changes affecting the destinies of an Eastern race, now for the first time joining the comity of Western nations. It has been truly said that 'never probably since the world began has a nation developed so rapidly, or for two consecutive decades had so eventful a history to show;' and were it only on this ground, such a chapter in the history of our own day could not fail to be of great interest. But the past and present of Japan are nearly equally attractive to any student of the philosophy of history, from the many curious problems it presents, and the unexpected solutions furnished by passing events. •

In reading the history of the twenty years' struggle in which all the ancient landmarks of Japanese policy, statecraft, and administration have been thrown down, as if by one of their own volcanic shocks, and all the elements of Western civilization have been poured into the crevices, filling up the gaps with materials of a disintegrating and explosive character, we cannot but be struck by the suddenness and completeness of the revolution effected. In this commingling of things old and new, a people of Asiatic stock, as numerous as ourselves and to the full as proud of their history and all that constitutes nationality, appear to be swept by irresistible forces into the vortex of a political and social cyclone, which has gone far to denationalize them. What were the forces thus suddenly brought into play, from within and without, by which the most conservative and exclusive of Eastern nations was so rapidly transformed into something new and wholly alien?

Nothing more striking in history or sociology can well be found than the fact, that much of what has happened is mainly due to their intense hatred of the foreign element in every shape. Yet, strange as this may seem, we are convinced the dominant influence in the Japanese mind when the struggle began, and far on to the final issue, was this national feeling of hatred, mingled with fear, towards the foreign intruder on 'the sacred soil of Nippon,'—as their own Samurai and Bravos have many times since written in the blood of their victims. The ruling classes, from the Tycoon (or *Shogun*, as it now appears

appears he should be called) to the Daimios and their retainers, including the whole of the military and dominant class, when first we forced our presence upon them, had no other thought or wish than our expulsion. For the first ten years, from 1854 to 1864, they never ceased to nurture plans, both at Miaco (the Court of the Mikado) and at Yedo—the ‘capital of the Tycoon,’ or Shogun, his Lieutenant and Generalissimo—the object of which was the extermination of the foreigners and the closing of their ports. Mr. Mossman quotes the reflections of the British Minister at the beginning of 1861, just after the murder of the Secretary to the American Legation in the streets of Yedo—only one of a long series of such political assassinations by the Samurai—observing that

‘the victims previous to this were in a comparatively humble position; but Mr. Heuskin, though a Hollander by birth, was the official Secretary to the Legation of a great Treaty Power, and in whose violent death a blow was aimed at the American envoy, who might himself be the next victim. Not only was this the true interpretation of such a deed of blood, but every envoy and member of the embassies risked his life in performing his diplomatic duties. “It can hardly be realized in these modern days, in an European land, what it is to live under a perpetual menace of assassination, with apt instruments for its execution ever at hand, not for days or weeks, but month after month, and not occasionally, but constantly, from year to year. Never to put foot in stirrup without a consciousness of impending danger; never to sleep without feeling as your eyes close that your next waking may be your last, with the vengeful steel at your throat and the wild slogan of murderers in your ear.” Such were the reflections of the British Minister on reviewing the category of these catastrophes and the perilous position of affairs, and it may well be said that a diplomatic post in Japan was anything but an enviable one.’

How this blind and indiscriminating hatred, contrary to their avowed design and all their patriotic hopes, by some overruling and unseen power was hurrying the country on to a revolution, the end of which was to be a fevered desire for changes entirely foreign in type and aim, is now apparent. The nations from afar were to the Japanese an ‘Old Man of the Sea,’ whose clutch was on their throat, inciting them to frantic and unceasing efforts to rid themselves of his hateful and domineering presence. Failing all else, they rushed to meet him in his own element of Western civilization, where alone, it was felt at last, they might hope to find the secret of his power, and the means of recovering their lost immunity from interference. Mr. Mossman misses the force of this feeling by assuming that they had once been tributaries to China. It is true that the history of the Ming
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dynasty contains notices of tribute-presents having been sent at that remote period; but this is simply an assertion, like so many others made by Chinese when speaking of other States (England among the rest), treating all as subordinate and tributary to the 'King of Kings' and the 'Son of Heaven.' Kublai Khan, the greatest of the Mongol emperors, twice attempted their conquest by fitting out great expeditions, and each time met with signal defeat and the loss of all his troops and ships. There is no authority for saying they were ever conquered, or sent tribute to any Power. They not only successfully resisted the colossal Power at their gates, but carried the war into the enemy's country, partially conquering Corea, and making constant inroads on China proper during the following century, by way of retaliation. Hence their pride as a conquering and unconquered race, and the alarm and anger with which they have watched the insidious approaches of a more formidable neighbour than China, and the general menace to their independence from the forced establishment of permanent relations with all the Western Powers, whose means of aggression they felt themselves unable to resist with effect.

We cannot but feel a strong interest both in the past and the future of such a people, and nothing can be more opportune, therefore, than the appearance of the two works, the titles of which follow Mr. Mossman's at the head of this article. Mr. Adams, formerly Secretary of Legation and Chargé d'Affaires at Yedo, has had all the advantage of a long residence in Japan and the best opportunities of obtaining accurate information on the spot, of which he has availed himself with great ability. If he does not both speak and read Japanese himself, he has, as he handsomely acknowledges, had all the benefit of such assistance as Mr. Satow, the most advanced of our Japanese scholars, and now Japanese Secretary of Legation, could afford. We may receive this book, therefore, with great confidence as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Japanese and their history, the materials for which have been derived from the best sources, with all the advantages attending a knowledge of the language and a conscientious desire to insure accuracy.

The third work is only a little pamphlet of thirty-seven pages, but one, nevertheless, of very special interest. The author of this 'Legacy' was both a warrior and a statesman, who, although of comparatively humble origin, became one of the most powerful and celebrated of the Shoguns, or virtual rulers of Japan, and succeeded to his office under the Mikado of the day, in 1602. Not content, however, with the power of the sword and undisputed sway during his life, he aimed at establishing a system

of government and policy that should go down to posterity with the prestige of his name, and preserve both his country and dynasty from change. That success should have followed so ambitious a design for two centuries and a half is not more remarkable than the fact that the fall, both of the system and the dynasty, was mainly due to the return of foreign invaders under the peaceable guise of merchants and missionaries; the event which he vainly thought he had sufficiently guarded against by his expulsion of the foreigner, and the extermination of all Christian converts, with every trace of their religion.

To keep the Mikados in bondage, to govern in their stead, but under the sanction of their authority—to keep the Feudal nobles and chiefs of clans in subjection and all other classes in a servile state under them, and thus held together to resist to the death all attempt on the part of foreign nations to break through their isolation—was, in sum, the policy of Gongen Sama, as it continued to be that of all his descendants for nearly 300 years. But the moral to be drawn from this history is the futility of any Ruler, however powerful or sagacious, seeking to bind the hands of his posterity, or by any deep-laid plans and traditional policy securing any particular end, national or dynastic. That such policy may exercise a great and long-protracted influence, when based upon the reverence of a people for a great Ruler, is all that is possible. Some unforeseen combinations from within, or influences from without, set at naught the wisest and most deep-laid plans, when prevision seeks to go beyond a lifetime or a generation as the furthest limit. What the far-seeing and astute Iyeyas thought to place beyond the reach of chance or change, has now come to pass, in the way he would least have desired. Not only the disturbing foreigner from the West has reappeared on the Japanese shores, with his restless and aggressive temper, his missionary spirit, and commercial enterprise, but the effort to resist the fate has mainly led to the downfall of the whole fabric of native rule and institutions, the foundations of which he laid so earnestly. Another parallel in modern history of an attempt to create a traditional policy by a legacy of behests from the ruler and founder of an empire, to be binding on all his descendants, suggests itself in the reputed will of Peter the Great of Russia. He has the credit of founding such a policy, and an empire designed to have Constantinople for its capital, from whence with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean on either hand, as two Russian lakes, to dominate alike an Eastern and a Western continent. How far this dream of conquest and empire has any real foundation in Russian policy and aspirations, is a question on which there is much difference
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of opinion. But assuming that it is so, we may doubt whether its pursuit is likely to promote the end desired, or, like the Legacy of Iyeyas, will only lead, by ways unseen, to the triumph of a cause the very opposite of the consummation so ardently desired.

Much of the novelty and importance attaching to the Japanese transmutations of their social and political condition arises from the almost incredible shortness of the period in which the work of ages was accomplished. It has been remarked that no other nation has 'ever before taken five centuries at a bound.' But with equal truth ten centuries might have been the term. For although we shall find some closer resemblances between the state of Europe and Japan in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than at any earlier period, we must go back still further to find some of the most striking of these coincidences or similitudes—to the early Saxon and Norman periods in this country, and to the first or Merovingian era of kingly rule in France—from the fifth to the eighth centuries; the only difference being that Japan in the earlier period, while presenting the same features of feudal and monarchical organization, combined with them many of the later developments which only took place in Europe from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, and these the Eastern realm retained in full vigour to a much later date than the fourteenth century, when they all began to give place, in the West, to progressive changes.

In considering the problem presented by the arrested development and evolution of national life and forms of government in Japan during such a long series of centuries,—this 'sleep of a thousand years,' as one of the present Japanese ministers called it,—we look in vain for a satisfactory solution. Equally difficult is it to explain the transformation effected in one convulsive effort, by which the space intervening between the eighth and nineteenth centuries was at once bridged over. The Japanese, with a resuscitated sovereign at their head, stood in a moment on the same ground side by side with the more advanced of European nations. To understand or explain this we must take with us some definite conception of what constitutes progress. In material civilization they have neither been stationary, nor behind the rest of the world. No land has been better cultivated or made more productive. In the arts of life and skilled labour dedicated to decorative and artistic as well as utilitarian purposes, they had in some respects achieved a degree of perfection which at this day has not been surpassed in Europe. Their silks, embroidery, porcelain, bronzes, and artistic work in metals, are still the envy of the most advanced workers

workers in the same materials in the Western world. No nation was ever better governed on a theocratic system, and by a dominant class, or more orderly, industrious, and contented, than the Japanese during the two centuries and a half preceding the advent of foreigners in 1854. In this mould the Japanese, somewhat like the Chinese, from whom they borrowed much, had been, as it were, fossilized by Confucianism and Taouism for this world, and by Buddhism for the next, so far as they believed in any future world or state of existence. It was only when the even tenor of their way was broken into by foreign pretensions, requirements, and other disturbing influences, that they began to feel any necessity for change or movement.

A Japanese who has just written a book* tells us in his preface that his early intercourse with foreigners opened to him 'an entirely new world of thought and action.' So it may well have been with all his countrymen. The seeds which thought can vivify grow fast. The whole nation had been roused out of its long sleep of centuries, during which they had dreamed of no other life, and felt no need of change. They awoke to find a new world inviting their attention, and alarming their pride by an attitude which threatened dictation, if not conquest and a total loss of independence.

If we take up the story from the period when the Portuguese first landed (in the middle of the sixteenth century), and the foreign element of a mixed religious, political, and commercial character began to ferment, we find that the disturbed state of the country often called for a man of action, who could wield the sword and take the field against rebellious vassals and turbulent Daimios of all degrees. This want was supplied in the person of *Taiko Sama*, a soldier of fortune, who is said to have raised himself solely by his courage and talents from a menial state. The Mikado invented new titles for him, and invested him with civil and military powers. Among other titles he received, or took, was the title of *Kobo*, which Kaempfer translates 'lay or secular emperor,' without authority. From that time similar powers descended in hereditary succession with the title of Shogun, among the heirs of three families, descendants, not of Taiko Sama, but his successor Iyeyas, better known as Gongen Sama. Taiko Sama killed himself soon after, being defeated in a vain endeavour to succeed his father, and Iyeyas, who had been Taiko Sama's lieutenant, seized the power. It was under his rule that the Christians were exterminated, and all foreigners expelled from Japan. In

* 'Studies of Man,' by a Japanese. London, 1874.

this interval the power of the great feudal chiefs had been broken and their forces and territories so divided, that no serious rising seems to have taken place in all the intervening three centuries, until the advent of foreigners again, under the treaties of 1858, dislocated the whole machinery of government, weakened the prestige of the Tycoon, and brought old elements of antagonism and discontent into action. These combined causes led to a confederation of Daimios, which finally proved strong enough to defeat the forces sent against them by the Tycoon, and seize on the Mikado's person. Under his seal and authority deposition was decreed, and the ablest of the modern Shoguns retired, not to Tourunga, in the south-west province of Etzizen, as Mr. Mossman erroneously states (p. 326), but to Sumpu, in the province of Suruga, the headquarters of the fallen Tokugawa clan. There he still remains submissive to the fiat of the sovereign he had never ceased nominally at least to acknowledge.

As a founder of the institutions under which Japan has been peaceably governed during nearly three centuries, Iyeyas must be admitted to have been one of those men who, by their sagacity and firmness, can reduce to subjection and order the most turbulent elements. But the rule devised by him was of singular character and unexampled stringency. To the Daimios it was oppressive in the highest degree, and based on a feeling of distrust; a system of espionage the most minute and extensive, ramifying into all the relations of life, was its chief feature. Mutual distrust and bondage was the result. Hostages from all the Daimios were required, and the marvel is, how such a system could be so strongly knit as to bear the continuous strain there must have been upon it. No two Daimios, unless near relations, could visit each other, not even though members of the Tycoon's council: so at least the Ministers themselves assured the British representative, when protesting against the isolation in which he and his colleagues were kept. None of them could be absent more than six months from the capital, where they were bound to take up their residence with the bulk of their retainers, under the watchful eye of the Tycoon himself. During any absence of a Daimio his wife and male children had to be left behind as hostages. No Minister or official of any kind might transact any business unaccompanied by an Ometski, or spy, whose duty it was to report all that passed to his immediate superiors in office. Every office had in a certain sense, therefore, to be duplicated; and the Tycoon, in his triple-moated castle, situated on a commanding eminence in the heart of Yedo, was always girt round with feudatories
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of his own clan, or those created by his great ancestor, and a large following of men-at-arms. He very rarely emerged from the precincts of the palace, and led a life of almost as total seclusion as his suzerain, except when, in late years, for political reasons, he found it necessary to make journeys to Miaco, the place of residence of the Mikado, who was kept there in ward by the Tycoon's retainers.

The Japanese throughout their history have shown a strong feeling of nationality; and this sense of a national life to be preserved at any sacrifice in the face of a great danger from without, we believe to have been a principal determining motive of the complete revolution effected since the first treaty with a foreign Power was made. It is barely twenty years ago, and yet the great Daimios have in that short interval agreed to consolidate the Mikado's power by yielding up their feudal rights and revenues. They declared in a manifesto that the object of this sacrifice was 'to enable their country to take its place with the other countries of the world;' and this, no doubt, was one of their motives. Whether they are far enough advanced to recognise national life and independence as essential to power and prosperity, and on that account to be determined to maintain both in unity and vigour, is a more doubtful question, but in this direction lay the gratification of their patriotic sentiments and feeling of national pride. Among the causes, however, which have undoubtedly exercised considerable influence in determining the desire for change, the downfall of the Tycoon's monopoly of his trade at the Treaty Ports must not be underrated. A tendency to monopoly appears common to all ages, and shows itself among Eastern and Western races, with nearly equal force. Trades unions are but the modern developments or reproductions of the ancient trade guilds and crafts. Free trade, the antagonistic element, has but a very partial and insecure footing even amongst the most advanced of Western nations at the present day.

The Daimios cherished a monopoly for the advantage of their virtual ruler the Tycoon, and to their own injury. They desired to participate in the profits of a foreign trade which was enriching their oppressor and impoverishing them. That they should seek to enjoy the fruits of monopoly when their own turn came, has therefore nothing very inconsistent in it. Their objection was not to the principle of privilege and trade, but to their exclusion from its benefit. Men do not change their nature by becoming members of a progressive and liberal government—not in Japan, at least. They still retain some prejudices and cling to what directly advances their own interests. We are not
much

much surprised, therefore, to hear loud complaints from our merchants in Japan, re-echoed by our Ministers, that, in spite of this most progressive era in that country, rulers and natives alike cling tenaciously to their guilds and rights of monopoly against all comers. But it is both curious and instructive to trace the similarity of views and identity of principle, as well as of outward form, in our own guilds in the days of the Plantagenets with the guilds of an unknown Eastern race a thousand years before they or we had any idea of each other's existence. The end and the means were strictly alike at the two opposite extremities of the globe, and in two races as different from each other in outward type and mental development as it is possible to conceive, and they are not very different now.

As regards the actual course followed by the Japanese, even in their most recent legislation on this subject, there is, no doubt, a system in force, practically tending, not only to exclude foreigners and their trade from all the inland markets, but by means of secret guilds to create a monopoly at the ports, to the still more serious injury of foreign trade. In the last Blue-book collection of Consular Reports from Japan, Sir Harry Parkes draws the attention of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the existence of these guilds in direct violation of express stipulations in all the treaties, and encloses an interesting article on the subject from the 'Japan Mail' of the 18th of May, 1873. The British Minister remarks, in referring to this enclosure:—

'I also beg to add to these papers an interesting account of the Japanese guilds (or Sho-sha), who exercise a very potent influence on the Foreign Commerce of Japan. The connection of these guilds, and especially the Corporation of Yokohama (which is prominently mentioned in this paper), with the Japanese Government, the power allowed to this corporation of issuing notes without furnishing any account either of its liabilities or assets, the privileged sale of Government rice, &c., were referred to in my despatch of the 23rd May, forwarding the Consular Returns of Trade for 1872. These circumstances show how disposed the present Japanese Government is to run all trade into the mould of monopoly, to restrict it according to the personal views of men who are in office for the moment, and to make commerce subservient to their own purposes. The eagerness which many Japanese officials exhibit to quit their posts—apparently as wealthy men—and to share in the profits of business thus conducted, is also a noteworthy feature in the present aspect of trade in Japan.'

The writer in the 'Japan Mail' states that—

'Owing to their organization, their number, as well as to the regulations

lations by which they are governed, and the vigour with which they carry out the decisions or decrees of their heads, these corporations have become an influence which increases from day to day, and a power which the foreign houses must necessarily take into consideration. The secrecy which surrounds the actions of these corporations is so complete and so well preserved that it is extremely difficult to obtain information of any value respecting them. It is known, however, that the United Corporations of Yokohama are in possession of a capital, which has been supplied partly by the Japanese and partly by a small number of foreign houses. It is notorious that they invoke credit largely as they issue, by Government authorization, paper, which is received from the Japanese in payment of the articles of import which they purchase. It may be stated with perfect truth that as the foreign banks have neither information as to nor check upon the action of the Japanese banks of issue, the paper of which we have spoken enjoys only a very limited confidence. Nevertheless, however short the period of its currency prior to presentation for payment may be, it has fulfilled its special object in furnishing a floating capital for the corporations.'

The italics are ours, for this sentence brings out a grave and important condition of our trade in all the Chinese and Japanese seas. The natives in both these countries, with their natural craft and clannishness, would always, and naturally, fall into combination to raise the price of their own produce against the foreigner, and to lower that of his goods; and with their perfectly organized guilds, combination is a necessary condition of their trade—as the want of it, under the form of competition, is the characteristic of all foreign trade. When *competition* is met by *combination*, it fares ill with the competitors. And this is the normal condition of all commerce in these regions. Chinese and Japanese alike, are well aware by this time that they have nothing to fear from any agreement among foreign merchants not to undersell or outbid each other, however ruinous the game.

The trade of Yokohama through the United Corporations has thus become a gigantic monopoly in the hands of the Japanese Government. This was one of the chief subjects of discontent on the part of the Daimios, who rebelled against the Tycoon's authority, and eventually overthrew him and his dynasty together. It is stated in one of the Minister's despatches, that the Tycoon's Ministers had been distinctly warned, in a confidential interview in 1865, that the continued monopoly of all the advantages of trade at the treaty ports, was a great source of danger to the Tycoon's government; and the British Representative had very earnestly urged the free participation of the Daimios in whatever advantages foreign commerce could bring.

bring. He even insisted upon it as essential to the security of the Tycoon and the tranquillity of the empire, then greatly disturbed by the coming revolution. But the advice was not taken, and the Tycoon has paid the penalty of his refusal to profit by it. Certain it is, that this was among the most influential of the causes of discontent among the Daimios, and provoked in a great degree the opposition and struggles which ended in the abolition of the Tycoon's office and power. He and his officers between them managed entirely to monopolize the whole of the foreign trade, and to share the profits, without admitting either the Daimios or their retainers to participate in any way. Now all the Daimios were of necessity traders, as were their principal officers, for the disposal of the produce of their lands. It is therefore a subject of much regret that the Mikado's advisers should follow a similarly pernicious and unjustifiable course; and it augurs as ill for the future stability of his rule as for the development of trade, if those about him can give no better advice, or are too eager personally to share in the advantages of a monopoly to do what is best in the general interest. If, under the Tycoon's rule, the position of the Daimios and those about them had been made less galling to their pride, and more favourable to their financial interests, it would seem things might have gone on for another cycle, with no more change than the supplanting of one dynasty of Shoguns for another, from time to time. But the secret, alike of the motive power with the more puissant of the Daimios and its special direction towards a restoration of the Mikado's sovereign rights and the downfall of the Tycoonat, lies mainly in the fact that the system of repression and jealous restriction—feudal and commercial—had been carried to such a pitch of oppression as to become altogether intolerable.

Nor was this felt alone by the chiefs of the several clans and their immediate feudatories, but by the ministers (or Karos, as those stewards of their revenues and secretaries were styled), and by all the armed retainers, on whom the increased cost of living pressed heavily. For these classes there was nothing left to care for. The Daimios were deprived of all social intercourse with their peers, lest they should conspire together. They had no amusements out of their own families and castles; and however precious these sources of enjoyment may be, they do not altogether suffice for man's contentment. They had no political part reserved to them in the government of the country, although compelled to spend six months of every year, with a large following of retainers, within sight of the Tycoon's palace, and at the seat of his government.

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at an enormous cost. They were little better than State prisoners. What had life left of savour to be worth living for in such a dull, monotonous round of emasculated existence? They had for the most part become the sapless and enervated class which all aristocracies have a tendency to be, when deprived of a fair field of exertion and activity by a too jealous and despotic government, as they have become in Spain and other countries of the West when placed under such conditions. But not so the more active spirits of their Karos, men who had to govern the local populations, and found in this field at least sufficient employment for their energies, to preserve them from absolute effeminacy and incapacity. The possibility of widening the scope for their chiefs and themselves, and lifting from the necks of both the yoke of absolute bondage and subjection, must often have presented themselves to their minds as a desirable if not a possible thing! But until the advent of foreigners and the general ferment of new ideas brought into their life a fresh motive for action, and under their observation men under conditions of freedom very different from their own state, it is probable that the feasibility of any change had not presented itself to their minds. Once conceived, it was, like the grain of mustard-seed, very rapid of growth and it soon spread over the whole land. The armed retainers, generally men of courage and energy, began, as we have said, to be pressed for the means of existence. The increased dearness of everything, and especially of food and raiment, in part caused by the sudden export of gold, and the demands of a foreign trade for silk, far beyond the supply which had previously been only calculated to meet the wants of the native population, were inconveniences and hardships laid to the charge of the foreigners. Smarting under these, every patriotic instinct helped to intensify the hatred which a proud and sensitive race naturally felt for the intruders that had insulted the dignity of their country by forcing treaties upon them, the only end of which appeared to them certain ruin, if not national subjugation.

What the feelings of this numerous and powerful class were had been sufficiently demonstrated by a long list of assassinations and attacks upon foreigners, especially those connected with the Foreign Legations. The first resident Ministers and their attachés during the early years of their residence lived under a perpetual menace of assassination. Twice there was an attack in the dead of night on the British Legation. The first time it was stormed by a large band of Ronins, or 'Masterless Men,' and for an interval of many minutes they held it, despite the fact that a Tycoon's guard of 150 men was quartered around. Before these were fairly roused to a sense of the extremity of the danger,

danger, or struck a blow in the defence of the Minister, two of the officers—Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Morrison—were wounded, and several of the servants either killed or disabled. The Minister himself, standing at the entrance of the room, where his wounded secretary with the rest of the Legation had sought refuge, and expecting at each moment the decisive rush of the assailants, escaped death only by some unexplained hazard. The next morning saw a list of thirty-two killed and wounded among the attacking and defending force. On the body of one of the band, stained with his blood, was found the following declaration of the motives for the attack signed by fourteen of his companions. This is a common mode of proceeding among the Two-sworded Samourai, out of which class the Ronins are recruited. They make themselves outlaws, and thus free their feudal chief from responsibility for their acts:—

‘I, though I am a person of low degree, have not patience to stand by and see the Sacred Empire defiled by the foreigner. This time I have determined in my heart to follow out my master’s will. Though, being altogether humble myself, I cannot make the might of the country to shine in foreign nations, yet, with a little faith and a bold warrior’s power, I wish in my heart, though I am a person of low degree, to bestow upon my country one out of a great many benefits. If this thing from time to time may cause the foreigner to retire, and partly tranquillize both the minds of the Mikado and Shiogoon, I shall take to myself the highest praise. Regardless of my own life, I am determined to set out.’

Had not these men been denied, by the jealous distrust of the Tycoon and the long pacification of the land, all legitimate outlet for their pent-up energies, as well as all hope of advancement or improved condition, there is little doubt that affairs might have gone on throughout this century as they had done for so many ages before. The Tycoon perished at last by the original vice of a system of excessive repression and the refusal to allow any scope for others. There would seem to be nothing so dangerous to the permanence of any institutions or form of government, as pent-up forces which have no legitimate outlet or safety-valve; and the stronger the repressive force, the greater is the violence of the explosion. To sum up, then, the history of this singular phase in the national life of the Japanese,—the proximate or immediate cause of the revolution was, undoubtedly, the advent of foreigners as permanent residents, and the discontent resulting from the treaty rights exacted from the Tycoons. It had cost the Tycoon who signed the first treaty and his two successors their lives, and the fourth his power and office. But under this, which was on the surface, there was
a deep

a deep and heady current tending to the same end, partly occasioned by the defective origin of the Tycoon's power in respect to treaties and the Daimios' territories, and the still more influential and radical defects, both in the principle of his government and its administration. To govern by a system of espionage extending to every relation of life, sowing distrust and fear everywhere, and by an iron rule of repression, is, sooner or later, to make it intolerable to those who can resist, and to undermine by ever-increasing discontent the spirit of loyalty. We find we are quite borne out in this view by Mr. Adams, who says—

‘During the long period of peace which thus succeeded the establishment of the Tokugawa dynasty of Shôguns, the intrigues against it on the part of jealous and ambitious Daimios (and such there doubtless were from time to time, especially in connection with the Court at Kiôto) entirely failed, and the Shôgun of the day, or his officials, ruled the empire from Yedo. But the advent of Tokugawa changed the complexion of affairs, and gave an additional impetus to the machinations of the Daimios, who chafed under the usurpation of the greatest among them, and of those members of the Court party who were their allies. Indeed, when the foreigners appeared on the scene, everything was already ripe for a revolution, in the old style, and for the substitution of a fresh dynasty for the worn-out Tokugawa dynasty. And it is now quite evident that the imperfect Government of the Shôgun was not adapted to the new order of things which succeeded the signing of treaties with foreign nations. It is essential for the reader to understand that, from the moment these treaties came into force, the fall of the Shôgunate became a mere question of time, and that nothing could have saved it. As far as the establishment of commercial and friendly relations of a permanent nature with Europe and the United States was concerned, the sooner it was abolished the better. It was not the *supreme* power, and yet in its dealings with other Powers and their representatives it affected to be so. Hence, as will be seen, perpetual subterfuges and a daily resort to small tricks for the purpose of keeping up the delusion, and of preventing foreigners from becoming aware of the important fact (which, however, could not long be concealed), that he, to whom the treaties and the diplomatic agents had awarded the title of “Majesty,” had no right to be so styled, and was not the Emperor of Japan. Although the fact is now patent to every one, many foreigners clung with curious obstinacy, even up to a late date, to the false idea that the “Tycoon” was the *temporal* sovereign of the country, and that he would soon “return to power,” as they were wont to express what they would have found difficult to explain or define.’

Such, then, is our explanation of the series of violent and startling changes which have within the last twenty years convulsed Japan, and profoundly affected the character of its institutions,

institutions, customs, and government, and, in a period of unparalleled briefness, transformed an isolated people and given to a feudal state the most advanced forms of modern civilization. By what instrumentality it was actually effected is more of a mystery. Whose were the heads that conceived and planned the coalition, that placed the Mikado at the disposal of the disaffected Daimios, and secured the fall of the Tycoon, the abolition of his office, and an entire change in the political organization of the empire? Looking back on the colourless and dwarfed life of the Daimios as we have described it, and the want of political experience and knowledge either in that class or their Ministers and retainers, we confess this part of the problem still remains with only a partial solution. Baron Hübner relates a conversation on the subject which he had with one of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Iwakura Tomomi, since badly wounded by a sudden attack from armed men, and whom some of our readers may remember to have seen as the chief ambassador two years ago. The Baron describes him as one of the great promoters of the reforms since carried out, and who, in the revolution of 1868, played a conspicuous part. He says that, although a man of rank by birth, he had before this crisis lived in obscurity. How and where, then, did he get the knowledge of men and affairs, and the influence over others, needful to a successful leader of a revolution that is to depose and set up kings, and revolutionize all the institutions and organization of a State? This is what Iwakura says himself, and it may be taken as an exposition of his policy:—

“The Daimios,” said Iwakura, “were kept within bounds by the Shogun. Several of them were subject to his direct authority. On the abolition of the office of Shogun they everywhere acquired complete independence. This became intolerable. The restoration of the Mikado was imperative; that is the task that we have undertaken, and in three years it will be accomplished. The *Hans* [clans] have been recently suppressed. The former Daimios will not even be permitted to rule over their old estates. We shall compel them to come to live in Yedo with their families. Men of capacity, of whatever caste, will be appointed governors. By that claim only—namely, that they are capable men—may the Daimios hope to be reinstated in the high offices of State. The small clans will be forced to unite themselves to the large clans, and an army will be formed of soldiers hitherto in the pay and under the orders of the late Daimios.

“Our enemies maintain that we are hostile to the religion of the people. This is not so. We do not contemplate the destruction of Buddhism. We shall only purify those temples originally dedicated to Shinto. The Shoguns have consecrated them to Buddha in an irregular fashion, either by introducing his rites to the exclusion of all

all others, or by permitting Shintoism (which from all ages has been the official religion, namely, that of the Mikado) to be practised at the same time and place.”

The last paragraph is certainly not correct, for many of the Buddhist temples, which were for the most part built up by the Siogoons, have been utterly destroyed ; and as regards the policy crudely indicated in the first, we assume it must undergo great modifications before any attempt can be made to put it in practice. But it is perhaps hardly fair to judge the Minister by the mere report of a traveller as to what may have been said in a casual conversation, carried on through an interpreter.

But there is another and a greater mystery. We have seen the enervated and miserable life of forced idleness and seclusion passed by the Mikado, with concubines and Eastern courtiers for his companions. How has it been possible for such a youth, even under strong guidance, to accept the *rôle* he is now playing with apparently so much *aplomb* and satisfaction to himself? How has he been able to lay down his divinity, and, clothing his person in European garments, go into the light of day, to be seen by all his subjects—to open railways, receive addresses, and talk about affairs of State, and docks, and ships, and other mundane matters, like any common mortal? We confess we have no explanation to offer, except that the recovery of liberty, and a free existence under the sun, may have been so full of charm, that his whole nature has been suddenly and rapidly developed beyond what might, by the light of common experience, have been deemed possible. It has been rightly suggested, we think, that what actually took place was this. The feudal retainers of the Daimios, including the military class of Samurai, revolted against the Mikado's lieutenant (the Tycoon) in favour of the Mikado ;—and then made their masters, the Daimios, surrender their rights and privileges to a Government formed of their retainers, but ruling under the Mikado's name and authority. As to the revenues surrendered in exchange for a certain portion assigned as an income, they are probably personally richer than when they had to feed a large band of retainers. They are also, it may be safely assumed, much more their own masters. In that case the sacrifice was more apparent than real, and they have actually gained by the exchange.

As regards the Mikado and his future position, it is very well, perhaps, and right that, restored to the government of his kingdom, he should see and inform himself on all things ; that he should attend reviews, receive foreign Ministers, and even drive in the streets with the Empress by his side in the sight of his people. But if he has any more great revolutionary changes in contemplation,

tion, such as has been reported—the substitution of a new religion, the introduction of a foreign language to take the place of Japanese, or anything of such scope and nature—it would seem necessary that he should lose no time about it. Of course for a god-man, ruling by divine descent, and with all the attributes of High Priest and King, he can decree anything he pleases; and so long as the divine and sacred character remains, no Japanese will dispute his authority. But these attributes and powers of a god cannot long be conjoined with everyday life. Seclusion and mystery are essential to their existence. There is no divinity compatible with patent-leather boots, lace-coats and trousers, or cocked-hats, even if it could for a time be reconciled with walks and drives and other familiar amusements and occupations. Therefore we say, the revolutions to be effected in Japan must be near the end, since the Mikado cannot much longer be regarded by his subjects as a divinity, to question whose decrees, however unpalatable, would be not only treason but sacrilege for the gods to punish.

Apart from this view of the subject, will the great and sudden changes already effected be permanent? Will this fusion of the old elements of a feudal, aristocratic, and theocratic form of government and national life into a new product so essentially different, be durable and lasting? That is a question which must present itself inevitably to all minds trained by the experiences of European history. It is much easier to pull down than to build up, to destroy than to create. France began the career upon which Japan has now entered, *de cœur léger*, some eighty years ago, and with one act decreed the abolition of the feudal system, and with it the aristocratic and monarchic principle of hereditary succession. All pretensions to rule by right divine fell with the rest; and they are yet seeking for some stable basis on which to build up a form of government that shall be accepted and obeyed by all; and are as remote from the solution of the problem, to all appearance, as in the year 1793. So far the example has not been encouraging. The passion for an impossible equality has only been tempered by one scarcely less vehement—a love of personal privileges and distinctions. The Americans have for a nearly equally lengthened period asserted the sovereignty of the people and, with little modification, the old Roman precept of '*vox populi vox Dei*,' without much better success. Of democracy there is enough and to spare in both countries; but it remains yet to be determined, in France at least, whether this is to lead to some ungovernable and impracticable theory of Socialism and Communism, with a levelling downwards, and an equal division of property, or a monarchic revival

revival based upon hereditary succession, and not upon the mobile and uncertain plebiscite of a whole people. Fortunately, as we believe, the Japanese have avoided one fatal error in their political programme, and in this, at least, have shown no small amount of political sagacity. They have retained hereditary succession and a monarchy as steadying powers, and there has been no specious forms of appeal to the 'will of a people,' wholly uneducated from a political point of view, and absolutely incapable of forming any sound judgment as to the best system of government.

Before concluding this review of some of the principal and most interesting chapters of recent Japanese history, we must endeavour to convey some information to our readers of the actual government established, and its adaptation to the present state of the country. We find this so well set forth in a recent article in the 'Japan Weekly Paper,' a journal evidently possessing means of obtaining authentic information, that we cannot do better than place a summary before them, with extracts as full as our space will admit. The writer premises that he proposes to give 'such a general sketch of the actual position in which the affairs of the country now stand as 'may serve to dispel some illusions respecting it as seen from a distance, and, at the same time, render justice to the Japanese Government, and afford some conception of the difficulties with which they have to contend.' As this is precisely what we desire also, we quote some of the leading passages without hesitation:—

'The Government was formed upon the basis of the time-honoured authority of the Mikado, but his Majesty at the same time solemnly engaged himself to rule in conformity with the wishes of his people. In the fulness of years some more precise method of ascertaining the will of the people may no doubt be arrived at; but, for the present, perhaps there could be no better means of consulting the wants of the people than by each of the chief provinces being represented by one of its most prominent men in the Council of State, in the deliberations of which the Mikado, his Prime Minister and Vice-Prime Minister, as well as the Heads of the several branches of the Government, take part, and whose edicts are the law of the realm. Each of the Departments, as of Finance, Foreign Affairs, &c., is presided over by a Minister, who is not, however, necessarily a Cabinet Minister—that is to say, a member of the Council of State; and each of these Departments is formed, as to its administration, on the Western basis, some of them, as that of Public Works, being subdivided into many branches, for railways, mining, lighthouses, telegraphs, &c. The deliberative council, which has sometimes been misnamed a parliament, is an advising body called together with the view of making the Government better acquainted with the wants and the wishes of the people, but it possesses no direct power in the State.

'Such

‘Such being the composition of the Government, and in view of the fact that it has not only incurred a very large expenditure on account of the construction of roads, piers, railways, telegraphs, lighthouses, and public buildings of all descriptions, but has likewise engaged at a large outlay the services of a very numerous staff of skilled foreign employes for years to come, we consider that we are justified in believing that, even were all foreigners engaged in trade in the country to leave Japan to-morrow, Western civilization has already taken too deep a hold of the ground to admit of the probability being entertained of its being readily rooted up. But for its permanent hold on the country it must mainly look to the rising generation.’

As to education, it is stated that—

‘A law was proclaimed in the course of the year 1872 which provided for the establishment of 53,000 schools, or one for every 600 of the computed inhabitants of Japan, and we have been told on the best authority that the provisions of this law have even already been very largely complied with. What may be the precise number of young persons who are now under instruction, we cannot undertake to say, but we believe the Educational Department estimate it as exceeding 400,000. The instruction given to these pupils varies, of course, with their various circumstances, but it is in all cases conveyed upon the European or the American principle; the pupils in the upper schools, instead of squatting on mats, being required to sit on benches and to work at tables. In the various establishments connected with the Government at Yedo, the pupils eat food prepared in the European fashion, sit at table at meals, and make use of knives and forks. Those at the Naval College, as well as the marine cadets and the troops of all classes, wear an uniform similar to that worn by the like classes in Europe or America. These pupils are attended by foreign medical officers. For a long period it was the fashion to believe and assert that the Japanese mind was incapable of advancing beyond a certain point in the acquisition either of European language or of European science, but we think the time has arrived when this somewhat hastily formed inference may be exploded.’

‘There being thus, as it seems to us, no reason whatsoever to doubt the capacity of the Japanese to receive instruction in like measure with most Western nations, we cannot but foresee that with so large a proportion of the rising generation under instruction, the effects on the development of Japan must be both general and permanent. It should not, at the same time, be forgotten, that, as would be supposed, there still exists a party attached to the old ways. There are still schools where Chinese literature is taught; but these form a quite inconsiderable proportion in the total aggregate of the educational establishments of the country.

‘But whilst we seem clearly to see that the seeds have been sown of a broad educational system, and the basis laid of a complete governmental system founded on that adopted in Europe, there is another question to be asked in reviewing the condition of Japan

of to-day. Will the existing social and political structure endure until such time shall have elapsed as may suffice for the instruction of the rising generation, and for the development of the country under the light of the newly adopted civilization? This is a question in reply to which many persons would shake their heads doubtingly, whilst a few would answer it directly in the negative. But for our own part, whilst we frankly own that we see some rocks ahead—more especially connected with finance—we trust we may not be too sanguine in disagreeing with those who doubt the stability of the existing order of things in Japan.

‘The present state of order which we see around us, and which has been so long undisturbed, seems to justify the calculations of those who undertook the task of governing the country at a time when a very opposite state of things existed. The Japanese statesmen who, in the midst of civil war, a thorough internal re-organization, and a struggle on the part of the privileged classes to expel foreigners from the country, could see their way towards the introduction of foreign civilization, and who have introduced it, may, we think, claim to be trusted as being capable of forming an opinion as to the present condition and future prospects of the country; and they do not seem to entertain any alarm under these heads. Their task for the past, they confess, has been an easier one than that which awaits them for the future seems likely to prove, inasmuch as this task for the past has been chiefly to destroy, whilst their labours for the future must be to construct. If the building up of the new edifice proceed as harmoniously as did the demolition of the old one, the Japanese and their rulers may have indeed cause to congratulate themselves.’

‘In this changing age few changes are more striking than that between the former and the present attitude of the Japanese people towards foreigners. We need not be very old residents in the East to remember the day when the order for the expulsion of the barbarian was issued from the palace of Kyoto. To-day, so far as the feeling of all classes is concerned, the foreign barbarian may traverse Japan in all directions with as complete safety from risk and injury as he would find in Germany or France, whilst he may count on everywhere meeting as cordial a welcome as would await him in America or England. But the jealousy of the foreigner has assumed a new phase. Whilst there is no longer the slightest repulsion to him personally, the pride of the Japanese, though it prompts him no longer to resist the foreigner in arms, makes him rebel against submitting quietly, farther than he need do, to the assertion of foreign superiority in civil and commercial pursuits. Hence the obstacles in the way of opening up the country. The Japanese wish to obtain the riches of their land for themselves. They are sufficiently conversant with the laws of political economy to know that for the development of the resources of their country both skilled management and labour and capital are necessary. They are deficient in these elements, and their object is to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of obtaining the requisite foreign capital and skill and still retaining the profits to be derived from the industrial development’

development of the country for the benefit of the Japanese. One of their first schemes, conceived with a view towards effecting this object—namely, to develop the island of Yezo, under foreign supervision, for the benefit of the Government—has, up to the present time, proved a complete failure. It remains to be seen what will be the issue of the line of commercial policy which they are said at present to entertain, namely, to grant various concessions to Japanese companies who shall provide their own foreign managers and skilled labour, as well as their own capital.

‘In the meantime, obstacles are opposed to the free introduction of foreigners into Japan. Those obstacles, it will be seen at a glance, are merely of an ephemeral nature. The success of the first Japanese railway, between Yokohama and Yedo, has induced the Government, as well as several local associations, to take the preliminary measures for opening railway communication in other parts of the country, and it follows as a matter of course that wherever railways will be opened there foreigners will have free access.’

In conclusion, the writer thus sums up his impressions:—

‘A people amiable, clever, and very impulsive, but which has little or no hold either on any religion or on any philosophy—which suddenly rushes forth, as it has done once before, in pursuit of the acquisition of a foreign civilization—what is to be said of it? There is no problem in the world’s previous history which can help us to foresee the end. The case of Russia in the time of Peter the Great affords no fair comparison with that of Japan of to-day. The stolid, obedient Russians were moved by the commanding genius of one man; the Japanese have no commanding genius. We forbear to venture on prediction. We can only say that the Japanese have, up to the present time, shown a marvellous aptitude, as compared with other Oriental nations, for adapting themselves to European civilization; they may so far compare very favourably in this respect—due regard to their circumstances being shown—even with more than one people in Europe.’

In these views, which we have reason to believe represent the opinions of many best placed in the country to obtain accurate and trustworthy information, we entirely concur. All vaticination upon the data obtained must, from the nature of the circumstances, be hazardous in the extreme, for the reason, above all others, which the writer gives, that, notwithstanding history often repeats itself, and in the ordinary current of political changes we are generally enabled from what has been to form some opinion as to the course of events in the future, we are here entirely at sea, and out of sight of any landmarks to guide us in the outlook beyond; ‘there is no problem in the world’s previous history which can help us to foresee the end.’ We can only from certain general principles, and the influence

those constantly exercise in the development of national life, draw some equally general conclusions as to the probable results of what has taken place in Japan during the last twenty years. It is probable that much of the future stability of the Government and institutions will be determined by financial conditions. If those be satisfactory, and a good fiscal system can be established, all will go well; but as to the present financial state of Japan, it is difficult to arrive at exact data on which to form a safe conclusion. The Japanese, like their Chinese neighbours, have always, since their intercourse with foreign powers, shown a laudable desire to keep their monetary engagements with them, and in this may compare advantageously with many borrowers much nearer home. Whatever may be the amount of security offered by the Japanese Government for its loans, the ruling price of the Japanese stock on the Exchange is a sufficient evidence that they are regarded with great favour. Spain and Portugal, Egypt and Turkey, and even Italy, cannot boast of such credit with the capitalists of Europe. We have no pretension to write on such matters with the authority of the City article in the 'Times;' but upon a general survey of the political and financial state of the country it is possible that we may from a larger view, if not from fuller materials and trustworthy sources of information, enable our readers to form their own opinions on sufficiently solid grounds. Those, for instance, who have invested in the two loans which Japan has negotiated in Europe, the 9 per cent. and the 7 per cent., may be glad to know that the railway, which is the main security for the first, is supposed by the best informed on the spot to be doing well. That is, the receipts would lead to that conclusion, although nothing more definite can be said upon the point, for the singular reason that no one there knows what the cost of the railway construction has been—not excepting, we believe, the Japanese Government itself. Certainly the cost has never been made public, though the weekly receipts are regularly published.*

This points to one of the chief difficulties in arriving at any trustworthy conclusion on the financial prospects. Of the resources of the country we know a good deal—enough, perhaps, for practical purposes—but of the fiscal administration and collection of the revenue next to nothing; or rather something worse than nothing, since we do know very positively that the common vice

* The following is the statement of passenger and goods traffic by the Imperial Government Railways for the week ending Sunday, 25th January, 1874:—
 Passengers, 30,600, \$8,049.00. Goods, parcels, &c., \$538.61. Total, \$8,587.61.
 Average per mile per week, \$477.09. Corresponding week, 1873: Number of passengers, 24,321; amount, \$7,483.90.

of all Eastern countries, corruption, is as rampant and as hard to deal with in Japan as in many worse governed states of the Asiatic continent. Without some security for honest administration no fiscal system is of much worth. Where accounts can be falsified, receipts embezzled without check or accountability or any danger of detection, and therefore where all audit is more or less illusory, and merely consists in a nefarious adjustment of rival claims to share in the larcenies on the public purse, it is vain to look for a trustworthy balance-sheet of actual revenue and expenditure. And such has hitherto been the state of affairs in Japan. So long as the Mikado, in whom rested the potential sovereignty, remained in his seclusion at Miaco, and the Tycoon held rule, there was, so to speak, no national^e exchequer or revenue. Each Daimio and feudal chief raised his own revenue by taxes on land chiefly, the rice-crop being the main stay; and each Daimio's income was reckoned at so many kokoo of rice, a standard measure for grain. Custom, rather than law, determined the proportion of the produce of the soil that should be paid in kind as the rent or tax payable to the lord^e of the soil; and this was subject to considerable variation in different localities, varying, indeed, according to the best information obtainable, from one-half to two-thirds of the whole, but rarely enforced in bad seasons. The Tycoon had little or no part of this, and had to look to his own fief and lands mainly for revenue. Nor does it appear, although he had an official overseer and spy in most of the Daimios' territories, with functions of a very questionable and never very clearly defined character, that he could exercise any real control over the fiscal system of the several feudatories. We say in most of the Daimiates; for in some, such as Satsuma's, so obnoxious a character had little chance of life, once within the limits of the prince's territories. About the time of the first residence of foreigners in 1858-9, it had become so perilous a post that none, openly at least, could be found to assume the responsibilities. Those who did never returned, and many who went in disguise were not more fortunate. As in the Highland fastnesses of the chiefs of clans in the time of the Jameses, and subsequent even to the union with England, no writ of the sovereign could run, if the object was obnoxious, for no man's life was worth a day's purchase if the chief willed its forfeiture. Precisely the same state of things was found to prevail in Japan, and had existed for many centuries. Each Daimio was lord and master within his own territories, and all his tenants were subjects bound by feudal tenure to do military service, and whenever called upon to do his chief's behests, under penalty of death. The Mikado himself, although generally
acknowledged

acknowledged as suzerain and the fountain of honour and authority, was reduced to such poor resources as his capital and a few surrounding lands could yield, with tribute offerings, like Peter's pence, from some of the wealthier temples. The stories of his treatment, and the straits to which his Court was often reduced, were sometimes whispered in the ear of a foreigner, and were calculated to raise a smile. It being held that something of divinity resided in his person, it was not permitted for any mere mortal to eat or drink from any plate or cup which he had used. But as the daily destruction of all these sacred utensils became very costly, the unfortunate object of all this adoration was supplied with common delf, to reduce expenditure; while the meanest of his subjects were habitually served in such porcelain as only Japan could produce in the same beauty and perfection. So with raiment and other necessary supplies. It must be admitted that divine honours in Japan had serious drawbacks.

Last year, about this time, a balance-sheet of revenue and expenditure was published in Japan under the authority of the Finance Minister. As this step was provoked, however, by two ex-finance secretaries publishing a very damaging statement of financial resources and liabilities, it may not be prudent to place too much confidence in the perfect accuracy of the authorized counter-statement. As the pivot on which so many things depend in European States is the same, and at least equally indispensable, in Japan, and turns very much upon a question of pounds, shillings, and pence—though the Japanese may call these *yen* or *boos*—it is important that something positive should be known on the subject. It is an encouraging sign of enlightenment, therefore, that the Vice-Minister of the Treasury, who was entrusted with the duty of presenting the Imperial Budget, distinctly recognises the principle, that 'upon the administration of the finances is dependent the safety of the empire;' and with more emphasis than dignity, perhaps, he adds that, 'if they be mismanaged, incalculable calamities may arise in the snapping of a finger.' This is sound logic and good political economy, and we must trust that, guided by such principles, the financial condition of the country will be satisfactorily established. All that we can say upon the present budget is a congratulation at the surplus shown in the balance-sheet. The chief source of revenue is the land-tax, not less than four-fifths of the whole. The war department presents the largest item of expenditure, and public works and reforms of the postal service come next, with education at little less. If we may judge by the sanguine tone of the Finance Minister's Report, large as the expenditure has necessarily been in the organization of so many new departments and great public works,

works, including railways, telegraphic lines, lighthouses, and many other costly improvements, we may congratulate the present administration on the prosperity and resources of the country.

An article appeared in 'Blackwood' a year or two ago, on Japanese finance, giving the whole revenue and expenditure in detail. Upon what authority such data rest we do not know; but on comparing it with the official statement above referred to, there is not any very great difference. The general budget makes the total income, taking the *yen* at 4s. 2d., 10,040,940l.; the expenditure 9,499,287l., leaving a surplus of 541,653l. The amount charged for the interest on the foreign debt cannot be all included, however, for the amount of the 9 per cent. railroad loan being for 1,000,000l., of which only 100,000l. has yet been redeemed, and the loan at 7 per cent. amounting to 2,400,000l., it is quite clear that 370,000 *yen*, the amount carried into account of expenditure under that head, equal only to 77,035l. or thereabout, cannot include all. The whole public debt of Japan, native and foreign, is estimated not to exceed 27,000,000l.—not an excessive amount for such a country, with its great mineral and industrial resources and a population of over thirty millions. The official census of 1872, just published, fixes the entire population at 33,110,825. The males and females are about equal in numbers. There are 29 members of the Imperial family, 459 of the higher order of nobles, and about 700,000 of the lower order of gentry.

As to the influence on industrial progress of the knowledge so recently acquired, of European machinery and manufacturing processes, together with the facility of engaging European engineers and artisans to direct or assist in the working of such machinery, the results do not seem to have been of a very satisfactory nature, either for the natives or the foreigners mixed up with them. The latest advices show a growing and increasing indisposition on the part of the Japanese to enter into any joint concerns or joint account operations. Much of this is attributed, by some of the best informed on the spot, to their conceit, and the effect of the smattering of knowledge, of arts and sciences, which a few of the travelled Japanese have acquired, leading them to imagine that they can carry out all such schemes without foreign assistance. But in justice to them, and to the Japanese generally, it must also be attributed, in no small degree, to the fact that hitherto associations of Japanese with foreigners have turned out too disastrously for the natives to induce further investments in the same direction, or with partners of a similar kind. It is to be hoped that at no distant time it may be possible

possible to convince the Japanese that foreigners can be found, if due discrimination be exercised, who will be content to join them on a basis of equal and fair division of profits.

Mr. Mossman terminates his account by describing the aspect of Japan in 1873 as compared with what it was in 1853, and we will give it in his own words as a fitting conclusion to this article. If any of our readers are induced, from this imperfect sketch of the past and present of Japan, to desire more detailed information, rendered most accessible by its arrangement and the clear type employed, they cannot do better than read Mr. Mossman's book. In the 'History of Japan,' by Mr. Adams, there is more of research and accurate delineation at first-hand and from official sources. When the second volume appears, therefore, and completes the work, we have no doubt it will take higher rank as an authority, and become a standard work of reference on Japan. In the meantime Mr. Mossman tells in a single volume all that the general reader usually cares to know of so distant a country, notwithstanding sundry inaccuracies in matters of detail, to which we have already referred with a view to their correction.

'Now that these historical records of "New Japan" have passed the twentieth year from their commencement, it becomes an appropriate occasion to glance at the present aspect of the country, its inhabitants, institutions, and Government, as compared with its condition briefly described in the first chapter. At that time all was mystery, uncertainty, and error concerning these picturesque, fertile, and thickly populated islands in Eastern Asia. The veil of obscurity has since been uplifted, and we now see the rulers, with the light of Western civilization in hand, dispelling their ancient, Oriental, inscrutable darkness. The barriers of exclusiveness have been broken down, and many of the finest harbours on their iron-bound coasts are open to the ships of Foreign Powers; the legitimate monarch has thrown aside the Imperial purple of seclusion, and with his dynasty has entered the comity of nations; the feudal system and its sanguinary domineering oligarchy have been swept away, and constitutional Government on a foreign basis placed in its stead; the hated foreigners, their commerce and religion, are no longer debarred from the body politic, and many of them are in the employment of the State; the sea and land forces have attained a strength and perfection, after foreign models, that will render the nation stronger in warfare than any other in the Far East. Where formerly the shores bristled with dangers to navigation, these have been buoyed, and lighthouses of the first order warn the mariner of them by night; where twenty years ago the commerce with Europe was restricted to a Dutch trading company of a limited arbitrary character, under humiliating conditions, at one semi-prison factory, the merchants and ships of all friendly nations are allowed free pratique at sixty treaty ports; where

no

no foreign diplomatist could take up his residence in the country, the representatives of twelve Treaty Powers have their legations and consulates at the capital and foreign settlements; where the highway of Yedo was a way of death to the foreigner, he can now ride in a railway carriage in safety, with the whistle of the locomotive awakening up the echoes of the bay; and, finally, he can communicate by electric telegraph from port to port, until it reaches Europe, through the great eastern submarine cable system, in fifty hours.* Thus, in one short generation, the Japanese have achieved a position in the civilized world that the foremost nations of Europe took centuries to accomplish; and now their national cry in the peaceful path of progress is "Forward! Onward! NEW JAPAN; the Land of the Rising Sun!"

The only objection to this picture, we think, is the entire omission of any shadows or sombre hues. It is altogether *couleur de rose*, as was Mr. Oliphant's attractive narrative of Lord Elgin's first visit. But there is no lack of shadow as well as light in Japan at the present day. If there be much of promise, there are not wanting presages of danger and trouble, and plain evidence of stormy waters. There are clamours for war by the disbanded Samourai—against Corea—Formosa, and even now an armed expedition is on its way to the latter island. This is dangerous ground to tread. Then there have been insurrectionary risings in some of the provinces, accompanied by a general sense of uneasiness throughout the populations. The Government system of taxation and administration is very far from being settled in any satisfactory or permanent form. The great and rapid increase of expenditure, from the numerous reforms and improvements attempted all at once, in addition to the cost of the Revolution, must needs involve the Mikado and his Government in great difficulties. Railways, telegraphs, lighthouses, schools, dockyards, and steam-ships are very costly things, and all these have been undertaken at once. Then, as regards their foreign relations;—the tendency to monopoly, and jealousy of foreign competition in their own markets and industrial operations, are constant causes of remonstrance and complication. Foreign Representatives complain that, partly moved by these feelings and a desire to secure Japan for the Japanese, and partly impatience at the extraterritorial clauses of the treaties, the Japanese Government has taken action tending to curtail the privileges of foreigners. They have stopped all journeys inland, and otherwise betrayed a certain disposition to insist upon the cessation of all extraterritorial privileges, as the condition

* Often in 24 hours.

of any improved tariff, or revision of the treaties in a liberal sense. From within and without, therefore, many elements of discontent and trouble are at work, and serious difficulties loom in the future, both for the Japanese and for the Treaty Powers. Whether the sudden adoption of modern ideas and a borrowed civilization will prove a blessing or a curse, is not yet so absolutely determined as sanguine friends of the Japanese and of progress would fain assume. But this, at least, is abundantly clear, that such sweeping changes as have taken place during the last few years in Japan, at more than railway speed—and with a very imperfect knowledge of the goal to which they are tending—cannot be without serious dangers. We must be content for the present to hope that the aptitude the Japanese have shown for sudden changes will not be incompatible with a gradual consolidation of all the new elements they have introduced, and their absorption into the body politic in a manner to contribute to the establishment of a Government suited to the tastes, the habits, and the wants of the nation, without which little can be hoped in the way of permanence.

ART. VIII.—*Memorie Aneddotiche sulla Corte di Sardegna del Conte di Blondel, Ministro di Francia a Torino sotto I Re Vittorio Amedeo II. e Carlo Emanuele III.* Edite da Vincenzo Promis. Torino: Stamperia Reale. 1873. (Anecdotal Memoirs on the Court of Sardinia. By the Count de Blondel, Minister of France at Turin under King Victor Amadeus II. and Charles Emanuel III. Edited by Vincenzo Promis. Turin: Royal Printing Press.)

THE domestic tragedies of royal and princely houses seem commonly endowed with an irresistible attraction for the historian. The summary execution of Don Carlos by paternal decree, the condemnation and punishment of Queen Caroline Matilda and her paramour, the last fatal meeting of the Princess Sophia Dorothea with the doomed Königsmark, the appalling catastrophe of the Kirk of Field, the ‘many a foul and midnight murder’ traditionally associated with our own fortress-prison,—these have been one and all exhaustively discussed; and no false delicacy, no misapplied tenderness for the reputation of the living or the dead, has been permitted to suppress or mystify the motives or the facts. It is, therefore, the more remarkable that incidents of the strangest, most startling, and suspicious character

character should have taken place in one of the most ancient and illustrious of the sovereign houses of Europe, without provoking investigation or protest: that events like the abdication, imprisonment, and death of Victor Amadeus II., occurring within the short space of two years (1730–1732), should have been tamely recorded almost as things of course, with haply a passing comment on the fickleness of fortune: that the statesman, warrior, and legislator who had baffled and humbled the Grand Monarque, won a kingdom, led armies to victory, framed codes and systems of finance that endure still,—who was the grandfather of one powerful monarch and the father-in-law of another,—that such a personage should be suddenly removed from the stage on which he had played so conspicuous a part, like a Sultan deposed by a Grand Vizier, or a *roi fainéant* set aside by a mayor of the palace in the Middle Ages. But the interest and importance of the historical episode to which we invite attention, will best appear from a brief outline of his career.

Victor Amadeus, born May 1666, assumed the government of his hereditary duchy, reluctantly surrendered to him by the regent-mother, in September 1684. The position of his dominions on the French side of the Alps placed him entirely at the mercy of his powerful neighbour, and Louis le Grand treated him as a vassal not entitled to a will or even an opinion of his own. Sorely against the grain he obeyed a peremptory mandate to co-operate in the religious persecution which followed on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Putting himself at the head of an armed force, he made a clean sweep of all the Huguenots and Waldenses within his territory; but his lukewarmness in the cause was obvious, his secret communications with the Protestants got wind, and Louis took the decisive step of sending Marshal Catinat, at the head of a French army, to bring matters to a point. The proffered terms were nothing short of unconditional submission. The castle of Verrue and the citadel of Turin were to be delivered up, and the whole Savoyard army was to be merged in the French. Driven to extremities, the Duke at length resolved on a measure he had long meditated. He joined (June 1690) the famous League of Augsburg, thereby putting an end to the peaceful if humiliating relations which had bound Savoy to France for sixty years, and boldly challenging a prolonged contest, which, ominous and threatening at the commencement, left him the victorious monarch of an independent nation at the end.

The announcement of the breach with France, which he made in person to his assembled nobles and justified in a manifesto,

manifesto, was received with enthusiasm by his subjects of all classes ; and with the aid of volunteers the principal towns were supplied with sufficient garrisons, and an army more numerous than that of Catinat was got together for the defence of the capital. But the allies on whom the Duke mainly counted lost heart after the battle of Stafarda, and remained inactive whilst one after the other of his strong places was taken and his country overrun. The first campaign of 1690 was disastrous ; and that of 1691 was rendered still more so by the explosion of a powder-magazine at Nice, which so weakened the defences that a capitulation became inevitable. This opened the mountain passages it commanded to the French, and after blowing up the fortifications of Aveillane, for which military reasons might have been alleged, Catinat wantonly set fire to the Duke's favourite Villa at Rivoli ; who, watching from the heights of Turin the progress of the flames, exclaimed, ' Ah, would to God that all my palaces were thus reduced to cinders, and that the enemy would spare the cabins of my peasantry ! ' Like Turenne in the Palatinate and (we regret to say) like Victor Amadeus when his turn came, Catinat burnt and destroyed whatever fell in his way ; and on one occasion some peasants, flying before him, threw themselves at the feet of the Duke to implore his help. After emptying his purse amongst them with the warmest expressions of sympathy, he tore off the collar of the Order round his neck, broke it into pieces, and flung them the bits. Traits of this kind abound. His brilliant courage enhanced the popular fondness and admiration ; and he was hardly guilty of exaggeration, when he told M. de Chamery, a secret French agent, who warned him in 1692 that, if the war went on much longer, he would be entirely denuded of troops : '*Monsieur, je frapperai du pied le sol de mon pays, et il en sortira des soldats.*'

Although he was beaten again by Catinat at Marsaglia, and underwent a variety of reverses, he inspired so much respect in his opponents, that it was deemed of the highest importance to detach him from the League, and such tempting offers were made to him, that, in August 1696, he signed a separate treaty with France, stipulating that all the territory taken from him should be restored, that the Duke of Burgundy (grandson of Louis) should marry his eldest daughter, that his ambassadors should be received on the same footing as those of kings at Versailles, and that France and Savoy should join in compelling the recognition of Italian neutrality by Austria and Spain ; in which case it was to be equally recognised by the French. As this grand object was eventually effected, his reputation and consideration on the

the south of the Alps were materially enhanced, although it was literally true (as stated by Voltaire) that he was generalissimo for the Emperor and generalissimo for Louis Quatorze within the month. His defection proved catching, and led to consequences which, without reference to the motives or precise quality of his acts, have been set down as redounding to his credit by his biographers. Each of the allies hastened to open a separate negotiation: all the principal belligerents were parties to the Treaty (or Treaties) of Ryswick in 1697; and after the Treaty of Carlowitz in January 1699, it was recorded as an extraordinary phenomenon for that age—it would be no less extraordinary in ours—that the whole of the civilized world was actually at peace for nearly two years.*

This halcyon period was abruptly terminated by the war of the Spanish Succession in 1701, and Italy again became the battle-field, in open defiance of the boasted recognition of neutrality. Victor Amadeus, with the Savoy contingent, formed part of the army (French and Spanish) which was defeated by the Imperialists at Chiari, where he had a horse killed under him whilst covering the retreat, and is allowed on all hands to have displayed the most chivalrous bravery and given signal proofs of his good faith. But this merely excited the jealousy of Villeroy, who had superseded Catinat, and fought the battle contrary to the best military opinions, including the Duke's. 'This Marshal,' says Voltaire, 'entered Italy to give orders to Marshal de Catinat and umbrage to the Duke of Savoy. He made no secret of his absolute conviction that a favourite of Louis XIV., at the head of a powerful army, was far above a prince: he called him nothing but *Monsieur de Savoie*; he treated him as a general in the pay of France, and not as a sovereign, master of the barriers that Nature has placed between France and Italy.' The effects of French arrogance were aggravated by the absurdity of Spanish etiquette. In pursuance of the policy to which French statesmen of the old school are still firmly wedded, of having weak states on their frontier, Louis had made up his mind to prevent, at any price, the aggrandizement of Savoy; but as a cheap mode of conciliating the Duke at a critical moment, the young King of Spain had been married to his second daughter. Within a few months of this event, the father-in-law and son-in-law met, by appointment, a short way from Alexandria.—Philip in a chariot

* 'Il fut glorieux pour un duc de Savoie d'être la cause première de cette pacification générale. Son cabinet acquit un très-grand crédit, et sa personne une très-haute considération.'—*Mémoires Historiques sur la Maison Royale de Savoie*, &c. &c. Par M. Marquis Costa de Beauregard, Quartier-maître-général de l'Armée. Turin, 1816. Vol. iii. p. 55.

or *calèche*, and Victor Amadeus on horseback. The obvious course was for Victor to dismount and take the vacant seat in the chariot ; but here the Marquis de Lonville, the grand master of ceremonies, interposed, declaring that this seat was exclusively reserved for kings. He similarly decided that the Duke could not be allowed an arm-chair in the apartment of the King ; and Victor, wounded to the quick, soon afterwards left Alexandria in a pet.

At the battle of Luzara, in the ensuing campaign, the conduct of the Piedmontese troops was highly commended by King Philip, who presented a gold-hilted sword and a Spanish horse to their commander, the Comte des Hayes ; but the absence of the Duke from his usual post at their head was the subject of invidious comment, and it speedily became known that a German envoy had been in frequent communication with his ministers. Louis acted with characteristic haughtiness and promptitude. After sending orders for the disarmament of the Piedmontese troops and the seizure of the Duke's person, he wrote to him :

‘ MONSIEUR,—Since religion, honour, and your own signature are of no account between us, I send my cousin, the Duc de Vendôme, to explain my will to you. He will give you twenty-four hours to decide.’

Victor Amadeus replied in the same number of lines :

‘ SIR,—Threats do not frighten me : I shall take the measures that may suit me best relative to the unworthy proceedings that have been adopted towards my troops. I have nothing further to explain, and I decline listening to any propositions whatever.’

His people were as sensible of the slight put upon him as he could be. The gallant little nation seconded him with such spirit and goodwill, that in an incredibly short space of time he was in a condition to make the haughty despot feel the weight a Duke of Savoy could throw into either scale when European supremacy was wavering in the balance. The President Henault, writing from the French point of view, distinctly states that his defection was the principal cause of all the misfortunes of the war. The art of changing sides, the policy of tergiversation, was certainly carried to perfection by this Prince ; but it is far from clear that on this particular occasion he stood in need of the rather compromising apology made for him by Voltaire : ‘ If the Duke of Savoy was slow to consult the law of nature, or the law of nations, this is a question of morality, which has little to do with the conduct of sovereigns.’ The date of the Act of Confederation between him and the Emperor, January 5, 1703, proves that they had come to no definite arrangement for

more

more than three months after the forcible disarmament of the Piedmontese troops by the French.

The ensuing campaigns of 1703, 1704, 1705, were an almost unbroken series of disasters for the Duke. There was a time when his situation closely resembled that of Frederick the Great in 1757; when Macaulay describes him as riding about with pills of corrosive sublimate in one pocket and a quire of bad verses in another: *i.e.*, with the exception of the verses, for Victor Amadeus was never guilty of rhyme. But he resembled Frederick in intrepidity, in constancy of purpose, and in the capacity for bearing up against the strongest tide of bad fortune till it turned. In May 1705 he was fairly driven to bay in his capital, which was invested with an overwhelming force by the French. Its fall was confidently anticipated, and Louis gave out that he would be present in person to witness the crowning humiliation of the most hated and formidable although (in respect of dominion) most insignificant of his foes. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon the siege as on a duel of life and death between two redoubtable combatants; for if the immediate issue looked less threatening for one, the result proved that it was equally a turning-point for both.* It commenced like an affair of honour in the days of chivalry. Before opening fire on the town, a French officer came with a flag of truce to offer passports for the Sardinian Princesses, if they wished to withdraw to a place of safety, and to request on the part of M. de la Feuillade, the French Commander-in-chief, that the Duke would be pleased to specify the locality he had selected for his own head-quarters, a special order having been given by the King that it should be spared. The Duke replied, that, till the siege was raised, his quarters would be everywhere where his presence might be useful, and that, as for passports, he most humbly thanked his Majesty for this most courteous proceeding, but as he remained master of one of the gates of the city, the Princesses could leave it whenever they thought fit.

The fortifications, including the outworks, covered too large an extent of ground to admit of complete investment, and hardly a day passed without a sally by the Duke at the head of a chosen body of infantry and dragoons, to cover convoys, or distract the attention and intercept the communications of the besiegers. Hoping to bring the war to a rapid conclusion by a *coup de main*, the French general suspended the operations of the siege to give chase, and on one occasion Victor was overtaken

* 'Turin rendu, dit un écrivain politique de nos jours, le Piémont est fini. Louis XIV. pour l'avoir manqué perdit avec lui l'Italie.'—*Beauregard*, vol. iii. p. 405, note.

and surrounded by a superior force. The Prince Emanuel de Soissons, his cousin, and the Count de Saint-Géorges, the captain of his guards, were wounded at his side; and he himself was unhorsed and thrown down under the horses' feet. But he managed to extricate himself, and re-entered Turin the same day on which M. de Feuillade returned to his lines after a bootless pursuit of three weeks.

The enthusiasm of the inhabitants rose in proportion to the call made upon them. It extended to both sexes and all ages; and many a prototype for the Maid of Saragossa might have been found amongst the damsels of Turin. Women to the number of three hundred (writes an eye-witness) were seen carrying earth-bags on their shoulders for the repair of the breaches on the most exposed part of the defences, unmoved, or at least unappalled, by the sight of the bleeding bodies of their companions who were struck down; whilst children of tender years, employed in carrying messages or provisions under fire, met danger with a laugh. One act of heroism, inspired by this exalted spirit of loyalty and patriotism, has never been surpassed in any age, ancient or modern. Pietri Micca, a private of artillery, with another (name unknown), had charge of a mine under a gallery which led direct into the heart of the citadel. The enemy, by a night surprise, had reached the gallery door facing the counterscarp, and were thundering at it with their axes before the alarm was given. There was no time to lay a train, and Pietro, seizing his comrade by the arm, told him to get away as fast as he could; then, after the pause of a few seconds, he applied a match to the mine, which exploded, blowing himself with three companies of French grenadiers into the air.*

A general assault was repulsed with great slaughter; but provisions began to fail, and the issue of the siege was still doubtful, when Prince Eugene, at the head of the relieving army of Imperialists, forty thousand strong, arrived under the walls, and had an interview with the Duke, at which it was agreed to turn the lines of the besiegers and give battle. In the French council of war, a party headed by the Duke of Orleans was for anticipating this movement by an attack. "If the battle is gained," they urged, "the place will fall of itself. If the battle is lost, there will be no alternative but to draw off." Marsin, the military governor or dry-nurse of the Prince, overruled this opinion, and it was decided to await the enemy in the lines, which, being fifteen miles in extent, necessarily abounded in

* '*Storia del Regno di Vittorio Amedeo II.*, scritta da Domenico Carutti.' Torino, 1856. P. 268. It is added, to enhance the self-sacrificing character of the act, that he was a husband and a father.

weak points. The allied infantry broke through after being twice driven back in disorder: the Piedmontese cavalry following under the Duke put the French cavalry to flight; and the garrison opportunely sallying forth, turned the defeat into a rout. Never was victory more complete. That same evening the two Princes made their triumphant entry into Turin to the sound of bells ringing and cannon firing, and amid the acclamations of a people drunk with joy. The battle of Turin delivered Italy, as the battle of Blenheim had delivered Germany, from the French. The Duke, besides recovering all he had lost, was strong enough to carry the war into the enemy's country by invading Provence and Dauphiné; but the reception he encountered was such as to elicit the remark that, easy as it might be to enter France, it was not so easy to get out of it.

His position at the conclusion of the war was such as must have exceeded his most sanguine expectations when he engaged in it. Under the treaties of Utrecht and Radstadt (1713-1714), besides a liberal increase of boundary for his Alpine provinces, he acquired Sicily with the title of King and a formal recognition of the right of succession to the Spanish throne after the Bourbons, as devised to him by the will of Charles II. of Spain. Sicily was wrested from him within four years, but by the treaty of London, 1718, he was indemnified by being made King of Sardinia, a title which his successors maintained without dispute till it was merged in the prouder title of King of Italy.

He was now at leisure to indulge his genius for administration, and he is allowed on all hands to have introduced the most beneficial reforms in every department of the State, civil and military. By dint of good management, he more than doubled his revenue without unduly reducing his establishments or oppressing his subjects. 'Savoy and Piedmont in his time,' states an unimpeachable authority, 'presented the spectacle of a monarchy as well regulated as a republic could have been. They formed, so to speak, a State *tiré au cordeau*. Everything was provided for: the great monarchies, to repair the effects of the indolence which their greatness entails on them, might learn useful lessons, applicable to each of their provinces, in these.'* It is further recorded to the honour of Victor Amadeus, and in evidence of his force of character, that he was the first Christian Prince who deprived the Jesuits of the control of his conscience and the guidance of public education in his States. His distrust of them (he told M. Blondel) arose from a death-bed communication made to him by his own confessor, a Jesuit:

* Le Comte d'Argenson, 'Intérêts de la France avec ses Voisins.'

‘Deeply sensible of your many favours, I can only show my gratitude by a final piece of advice, but of such importance that perhaps it may suffice to discharge my debt. *Never have a Jesuit for confessor.* Do not ask me the grounds of this advice. I should not be at liberty to tell them to you.’

Economical reformers are rarely popular, and he had alienated the nobles by the resumption of grants and the sale of titles. But this sagacious and enlightened monarch was at the height of his influence and prosperity at home and abroad, when he suddenly announced an intention of abdicating in favour of his youngest and only surviving son. Ingenuity was taxed to account for this proceeding. One theory was that he had entered into contradictory engagements with the Imperialists and the French in contemplation of a threatened renewal of the war. Another, that being denied absolution so long as a marriage recently contracted with his mistress was kept secret, and fearing to declare it as a king, he reduced himself to the condition of a subject to comply with the joint requisition of the lady and the priests.* Neither of these solutions will hold water; and the probabilities are that, having recently suffered from domestic affliction and severe illness, he abdicated because he was oppressed by the cares and responsibilities and sick of the gilded trappings of a throne.

On the 3rd September, 1730, he caused to be convoked at the Château of Rivoli the knights of the Order of the Annunciado, the ministers, the presidents of the supreme courts, and all the grandees, without communicating the object of the meeting to any one, except the Prince of Piémont and the Marquis del Borgo. The assembly being formed, the King imposed silence, and the Marquis del Borgo read aloud the Act by which his Majesty renounced the throne and transferred the sovereign authority to Charles Emanuel. This document was conceived in the same terms as the act of abdication of Charles V. It alleged the same motives—advancing age, illness, and the desire to place an interval between the anxieties of the throne and death. But the circumstances were as widely different as the results. Victor Amadeus acted from impulse: Charles V. from long self-examination and reflection. We learn from Sir William Stirling Maxwell that, ‘although it is not possible to determine the precise time when the Emperor formed his celebrated resolution, it is certain that this resolution was formed many years before it was carried into effect. With his Empress Isabella, who died

* Both these motives are suggested by Count Litta in his ‘*Famiglie Celebri Italiane*’; in which an entire volume is devoted to the House of Savoy.

in 1538, he had agreed that as soon as State affairs and the ages of their children should permit, they were to retire for the remainder of their lives—he into a convent of friars, and she into a nunnery. In 1542 he confided his design to the Duke of Gandia; and in 1546 it had been whispered, and was mentioned by Bernardo Navagiero, the sharp-eared envoy of Venice, in a report to the Doge.* The same well-informed writer almost contemptuously refutes the oft-repeated assertion that the Emperor's life at Yuste was a long repentance for his resignation of power, and that Philip was constantly tormented in England and in Flanders by the fear that his father might one day return to the throne. The son, he maintains, seems to have been as free from jealousy as the father was free from repentance. 'In truth, Philip's filial affection and reverence shine like a grain of fine gold in the base metal of his character; his father was the one wise and strong man who crossed his path, whom he never suspected, undervalued, or used ill. But the repose of Charles cannot have been troubled with regrets for his resigned power, seeing that, in truth, he never resigned it at all, but wielded it at Yuste as firmly as he had wielded it at Augsburg or Toledo.'*

It is difficult to conceive a more marked contrast than was presented by the situation and position of the royal performers in what was meant to be the corresponding drama at Turin. The son had been brought up in slavish awe of the father, and the father till within a short time of the resignation made no secret of the low estimate he had formed of the capacity of the son. As if distrustful of himself, the ex-king started for his chosen place of retreat, Chambéry, the day after the ceremony, at seven in the morning. In the farewell interview, Charles Emanuel having reiterated the wish that the abdication should not be deemed absolute, received for answer: 'My son, the supreme authority will not endure sharing. I might disapprove what you might do, and this would do harm. It is better not to think any more of it.' Yet he stipulated that a weekly bulletin or report should be sent to him of the progress and conduct of affairs, and the cessation of this report first provoked the language and demeanour which were construed into proofs of a conspiracy to resume possession of the throne by force.

A year and three weeks after the abdication (September 26, 1731) a council was held under the presidency of King Charles Emanuel, which was attended by three of the great nobles, the

* 'The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.' A valuable and interesting contribution to history, made eminently attractive by the style.

generalissimo of the forces and the Archbishop of Turin in addition to the ordinary members, and it was unanimously resolved, on the motion of the Marquis d'Ormea, the Prime Minister, that Victor Amadeus should be placed under arrest. The young King melted into tears, and was unable to sign the order without the aid of the Marquis, who guided his hand or (as others say) forced him to trace the letters of his name by the same rude means which Ruthven employed with Queen Mary at Lochleven. The order once obtained, D'Ormea lost not an hour in acting on it, and took in person the direction of the troops, by whom it was executed in the harshest, most humiliating, and most insulting manner. This illustrious Prince, then in his sixty-sixth year and suffering from a recent attack of apoplexy, was pulled out of bed in the dead of night, thrust half-dressed into a carriage, and hurried off to a place of confinement; where, exemplifying the familiar maxim touching the brief interval between the prisons and the graves of princes, he died on the 31st October, 1732.

The amount of sensation excited by these events, with the general manner of regarding them, may be collected from Voltaire :

‘Four sovereigns in this age renounced the crown: Christine, Casimir, Philip V., and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. only resumed the government against his will: Casimir never thought of it: Christine was tempted to it for some time through an affront she received at Rome; Amadeus alone *wished to reascend by force* the throne that his restlessness had induced him to abandon. The result of this attempt is well known. His son, Charles Emanuel, would have acquired a glory above crowns, in remitting to his father what he held from him, if his father alone had demanded it, and if the conjuncture of the times had permitted it; but it was, it was said, an ambitious mistress who wished to reign, *and the whole Council was forced to prevent the fatal consequences, and to have him who had been their sovereign put under arrest.* He died in prison in 1732. It is utterly false that the Court of France meditated sending 20,000 men to defend the father against the son, as was stated in the memoirs of that time. Neither the abdication of this king, nor his attempt to resume the sceptre, nor his prison, nor his death, caused the slightest movement amongst the neighbouring nations.’ *

Muratori, after mentioning the fears entertained that King Victor would be guilty of some fresh extravagance, proceeds :

‘Thus the King, his son, saw exposed to injury and degradation not only his royal dignity, but his own honour and the good of the State; and, after vainly trying every expedient to calm the mind of his father, and bring him back to a more becoming tone of thought,

* ‘Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.,’ chap. iii.

called together the wisest of his councillors, civil and military, and, after laying before them the state of things, with a protest of his readiness to make any personal sacrifice consistent with his public duty, demanded their advice. Giving every consideration its weight, they were of one mind in believing that a remedial measure was necessary, and it was unanimously resolved that the person of Victor Amadeus should be secured. Accordingly, on the night of the 28th September, the castle of Moncalieri was surrounded by various bodies of troops, and Amadeus was suddenly required to enter a carriage prepared for him. He thought fit to yield, and he was conducted to the vast and delightful palace of Rivoli.*

All succeeding historians and biographers concur in assuming that the father did conspire to resume the throne by force; that the son was actuated by an imperious sense of duty to prevent a still greater scandal or a civil war, and that the Premier was amply justified in looking solely to the safety of his master, the welfare of the State, and the dignity of the Crown. The utmost the most recent and professedly best informed historian will admit is that the treatment of the aged and invalid ex-sovereign was unnecessarily harsh.†

How the whole affair was treated by diplomatists may be learnt from the language of a Venetian ambassador at Turin, who reports in substance that, whatever may have been the reasons that induced King Charles to resort to such extreme measures, 'the details of this tragical event are too voluminous to find place in a simple ambassadorial report, and the affair is so delicate that it is better to be silent about it altogether until it can be thoroughly discussed without restraint.'‡ Silence, or rather a studied mysterious reticence, was accordingly observed on all sides to the complete falsification of history until the appearance in 1873 of the '*Memorie Anecdotiche*' § of the Comte de Blondel, who was

* '*Annali d'Italia*,' 8vo. edition, vol. xvi. p. 231.

† '*L'arresto di Vittorio Amedeo II. fu necessità di Stato: la sua detenzione, le molestie, le cautele, i modi furono opera iniqua.*' '*Storia del Regno di Vittorio Amedeo II. scritta da Domenico Carutti.*' Torino, 1856, p. 513. M. Carutti was during many years Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and must be supposed to have had free access to official documents; on which, however, as will presently appear, very little reliance is to be placed.

‡ '*Relazione di Marco Foscarini, Cavaliere e Procuratore Veneto, Ambasciadore Straordinario Ritornato dalla Corte di Torino, data li 2 Marzo, 1743.*' This curious Relation has never been printed. The manuscript to which we refer is in the possession of the Marquis d'Azeglio, during many years the able and popular representative of the Sardinian (now Italian) Government at the British Court. We are likewise indebted to him for our copy of M. de Blondel's '*Anecdotal Memoirs.*'

§ The editor, in his prefatory Notice or Advertisement, speaks of these Memoirs as '*sinore inedite e da pochi scrittori conosciute.*' They were evidently known (at least part of them) to M. de Beauregard, and apparently to M. Carutti; but their real interest and importance seem to have struck no one till they appeared in print.

French Minister at Turin during the whole of the transactions in dispute : knew everybody mixed up with them : was in constant communication with both kings, ex- and actual, before and after the abdication ; supports his printed statements by documentary evidence, and maintains without equivocation or reserve that Victor Amadeus was the victim of a plot : that Charles Emanuel was guilty of the most inexcusable weakness at the best, and that the sole apology that can be made for him is that he was the tool of an unscrupulous minister, who sought to remove a bar to his own grasping ambition or to consolidate his ill-gotten power.

The editor, librarian to the King of Italy, states that the manuscript copy from which he prints passed some years since from the library of Count Prospero Balbo to the royal library. The book is already out of print, only a limited number of copies having been issued ; and there is no publisher's name on the title-page. We shall, therefore, be more copious in our extracts than when dealing with an easily accessible publication.

The value of M. de Blondel's reminiscences does not consist merely in the rectification of the facts. His portraits and sketches of character are eminently useful in enabling us to appreciate motives and weigh probabilities. For example, the manner in which the Marquis minister is brought upon the stage, with the account of his origin and rise, go far to explain his subsequent conduct. It was as a clerk in the Department of Finance, named Ferrero, that this man first attracted the attention of Victor Amadeus. Having occasion to transact business with him during the illness of the Finance Minister, the King found him so quick-witted, so full of resources and expedients, that the notion occurred of sending him to Rome to settle the pending differences with the Pope, which had come to such a pitch that the benefices in Piedmont had not been filled for thirty years, and there was only one bishop left in the dominions of his Sardinian Majesty. Acting with his wonted promptitude, he named Ferrero Marquis d'Ormea, General of Finance, and Roman Ambassador, in rapid succession or at once ; and the improvised diplomatist started for the Holy See, provided with a present of six massive silver candlesticks and a richly-worked cross, valued at 100,000 crowns, to conciliate the Pope, and *carte blanche* in the way of letters of credit to secure the Cardinal Coscia, who governed the successor of St. Peter and was notoriously open to a bribe.

The Marquis is described as tall, good-looking, ready and eloquent in speech, and very insinuating by an air of frank-
ness

ness which he affected and did not possess. After assailing the position on one weak side, he made adroit and indirect advances in an opposite direction. Having ascertained that his Holiness commonly attended mass at five in the morning in St. Peter's, the ambassador made a point of being found there on his knees at half-past four, as in ecstasy, holding a chaplet with beads as big as pigeon's eggs to attract attention. This gave occasion for his ally, the Cardinal, to enlarge upon the austerity, probity, regularity, and piety of the Sardinian minister, who was cut to the heart to think of the ecclesiastical condition of his country and the growing irreligion of his countrymen. D'Ormea did not think it necessary to keep his royal master accurately informed of the precise means by which he proposed to attain the desired end; and instead of accepting the co-operation of the French ambassador, the Cardinal de Polignac, an ecclesiastic in high esteem, he managed to persuade the King that it was not offered in good faith and was more likely to impede than accelerate a settlement. When all was ripe, Coscia formed (or packed) a congregation of the least scrupulous cardinals, in which a Concordat was prepared, glossing over the more delicate matters so as to throw dust in the eyes of the cardinals who might be expected to oppose it in the Consistory.

The Consistory was fixed for a time when these cardinals could not attend, for reasons of health or country residence; and the Concordat was passed, comprising many privileges that are commonly not granted by the Court of Rome till after the solicitations of years and considerations of merit and good service to the Holy See. Then came the crowning feat of trickery and audacity. When the Concordat had been duly considered by the Pope and the time arrived for affixing the papal seal and signature, Coscia surreptitiously withdrew it and substituted another, in which all the pretensions and desires of the King of Sardinia were recognised and gratified, got it regularly executed, and handed it over to the Marquis, who hurried with it to his master and was forthwith rewarded by the appointment of First Minister. It is in this iniquitous and simoniacal fashion (says M. de Blondel) that the King of Sardinia extorted, by the roguery of his representative, the Concordat for the ecclesiastical administration of his States.

Victor Amadeus was unfortunate in his domestic relations. One of his daughters, the Dauphiness, died in 1713; the other, the Queen of Spain, in 1714; and his eldest son, the Prince of Piémont, a young man of extraordinary promise, the Marcellus of Savoy, in 1715. His death was a terrible
blow

blow to the father, who gave way to such extravagance of grief, that fears were entertained for his reason. After wandering up and down his stables with an air of distraction, he ran his sword through the body of a favourite horse. Gradually he calmed down, and by a strong effort threw all his hopes on his remaining son, Charles Emanuel, aged 14, whom he had hitherto treated with the most marked neglect and dislike, because (according to M. de Blondel) he was very ugly, of dwarfish stature, hump-backed, afflicted with a goitre, and of so weakly a constitution as to threaten a failure of successors to the dynasty. He stood in such awe of his father that he hardly ever answered him except by monosyllables. There is a court anecdote handed down by tradition, that when the prince, whose head hardly rose above the dinner-table, was asked by the father what he would have to eat: '*Cosa veus-tu, Carlin?*' he again and again in his terror stammered out '*Buje*' (boiled beef, or *bouilli*, still a standing dish at Piedmontese tables), which commonly provoked the reply: '*It as già avune, coyon*' (thou hast had some already, blockhead). However, the King saw no help for it but to make the best of a bad matter, and resolutely set about forming the mind and improving the body of 'Carlin,' with a view to his now inevitable succession to the throne. To give a practical turn to his education, he was sent to study fortification in fortified places with engineer officers, and made to pass regiment after regiment in review, noting down the most minute details of the arms and equipments of each branch of the service, with their cost. Then came tours of inspection to civil and commercial establishments, especially the silk and woollen manufactories; after each of which he had to undergo a searching examination, to test his diligence and capacity.

He was married, in 1722, to a Princess of Neubourg, a woman of sense and spirit, who would have emancipated him from the paternal thrall and placed things on a more becoming and improving footing, had she lived. But she died in childbirth the year following, after being delivered of a son still-born; and he was remarried in 1724 to a Princess of Hesse, who, with many personal attractions, was unluckily not endowed with sufficient strength of character to encounter the stern volition of the father, or inspire a sense of personal dignity and independence in the son. Under pretence that the uxorious habits of the Prince, after his second marriage, led to idleness and frivolity, he was restricted in connubial intercourse, being only permitted to pass one day a week with his wife. M. de Blondel was present when the King, after censuring the similar habits

habits of the young King of France, Louis XV., turned to the Prince and said: '*C'est également pour toi, Carlin, ce que je dis sur mon petit fils.*' The Prince, with the most respectful air, replied that at twenty-seven a man must surely know how to conduct himself with his wife: '*Voilà comme vous êtes, jeunes présomptueux. Vous n'êtes qu'un sot, qui ne savez ni vous conduire ni vous modérer.*'

It was not until 1727 that, beginning to feel the advance of age, the King determined to initiate the Prince in the personal arts of government, which, as practised by his Majesty, it was no easy matter to teach. He had no council, and his method was to work separately with each minister on the affairs of the department, and to give orders and decisions according to justice, or (as not unfrequently happened) according to expediency. Moreover his system was never to bring his ministers into conference together, but to foster a sufficient degree of misunderstanding between them to put each upon his guard and facilitate the discovery of any misfeasance, error, or deceit. 'In my familiar conversations with him,' says M. de Blondel, 'he has repeatedly told me that, if I did not want to ruin myself, I should always keep up a misunderstanding between my steward and my cook, as he did between his ministers; which he had found answer capitally since the commencement of his reign.'

Coming next to the second wife of the King, who plays a most important part whether she was the main mover in the approaching catastrophe or not, we learn that she was born Comtesse de Cumiana, of an illustrious house, and endowed with great personal attractions. Her first husband was the Comte de St. Sebastian, whose name she bore (having been some years a widow) till she was made Marquise de Spigno. M. de Blondel denies the current story that she had been the King's mistress, and states that the proposal of marriage was elicited by her indignantly drawing back on his familiarly placing his hand on her shoulder, telling him that she would never use the private staircase again. She was Mistress of the Robes to the Princess, and in attendance when this incident occurred. The King satisfied her at once by declaring that he regarded her as his future wife; citing the example of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon, to show that a private marriage with a Sovereign might place the honour of a subject beyond reproach.

His love of mystery was betrayed in the whole management of this affair. A dispensation was obtained through the Marquis d'Ormea, then at Rome, for a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Maurice, a widower, to marry a widow, which
is

is contrary to the rules of that order. On the 12th of August, 1730, his affianced bride being in waiting, he sent the Princess a permission to dine with her husband, whilst the Marquise, on her part, prayed for leave of absence on the plea of a headache, and hurried to the King's cabinet, where the marriage took place in the presence of two witnesses. They then separated, and the lady returned to prepare her apartments for the reception of her spouse. After ordering a chicken for supper, and giving directions to be not at home to any one but one female friend (the Comtesse de Passeran, from whom M. de Blondel had the details), she told her maid to open a coffer containing sheets of the finest Holland, and pillows adorned with rose-coloured ribbons, which she professed to have procured for a niece. Then, remarking that her niece was of the same height and her bed of the same size, she said they might as well see how the sheets and pillows looked, and had her own bed made with them accordingly ; into which she got, after supping on the chicken, and putting on a cap trimmed with lace. Her maid thought her mad, until informed of the grand secret, and was not perfectly reassured until the arrival of the King, about ten, attended by a single valet.

Early next morning, the bridegroom, to avert suspicion, left for his hunting seat, and the bride continued to discharge her duties about the Princess until the day before the abdication, when the King nominated the Comtesse Salasque in her stead. She then heard, for the first time, that she was to be disappointed in her cherished expectation of a throne, although the King had spent his whole time since the marriage in preparing for the abdication, and, so to speak, setting his house in order. In this interval he named the Baron de Rhèbinder First Marshal and Generalissimo of all his troops, and drew up a recommendation to his son to give all his confidence to the Marquis of St. Thomas, who could boast forty years of integrity, fidelity, and discretion, but for action and execution to employ the Marquis d'Ormea, who, he said, would never be found wanting in adroitness, suppleness, boldness, readiness, necessary dissimulation, enterprise combined with judgment, and capacity for great ideas, as well in the project as for the execution. The soundness of this appreciation was speedily verified to his cost.

M. de Blondel's account of the formal abdication comprises details which have escaped the chroniclers. After the reading of the Act, the King, taking his son by the hand, made the round of the circle, reminded his son of the services of each, and spoke to each with a firmness, an heroic courage, and a tenderness, which drew tears from all.

‘ Almost

‘Almost all the members of this Assembly were creations of King Victor by titles, dignities, and places; nevertheless most of them fell in with the conspiracy of the Marquis d’Ormea, whether through seduction or imbecility, through hope or through fear. I therefore look upon the tears of the Piedmontese as tears shed at a tragedy. Before the curtain has well fallen, they are dried up, and the heart remains where it was.’

In the course of a private interview the same evening, King Victor told M. de Blondel: ‘I start to-morrow morning at seven for Chambéry, whither I retire without any mark of royalty, since I am no more than a private individual. I have neither gentlemen nor guards in my suite. I retain but one carriage and horses, four footmen, one valet-de-chambre, two cooks, and 150,000 livres of revenue. This is enough for a country gentleman.’ Then turning to his son, he said: ‘Carlin, although I no longer wish to have any influence in affairs, I flatter myself that you will have the goodness, to amuse me in my retreat, to send me every week a bulletin of all the business you have transacted, so as to keep me *au fil* of the history of the events of Europe more clearly than they will be detailed in the Gazettes.’ This the young King promised to execute with the utmost exactness.

Victor Amadeus was remarkable for the simplicity, amounting to homeliness, of his dress and mode of life. The taste of his successor was the reverse: one of his first exercises of royalty being to furnish his palaces in the most magnificent style, and arrange a pleasure trip to the fair of Alexandria with the utmost splendour and costliness of equipage and dress. Hearing that the female aristocracy of Milan, Genoa, Parma, Modena, and Florence were in the habit of repairing there for the display of their finery and their charms, as the English ladies repair to Ascot, he named six of the most beautiful women of his court to attend on the Queen, and, in conformity with the Italian custom, attached a cicisbeo or cavalier servente to each. M. de Blondel was attached to the Comtesse de Frossaque, and as she was young (only eighteen) and very handsome, he had apparently no reason to complain of his lot; but the duties of the appointment proved somewhat wearisome, and his description of them may help to dissipate the popular misconception of their quality and tendency, for which Lord Byron is mainly answerable:

‘An English lady asked of an Italian
What were the actual and official duties
Of the strange thing some women set a value on,
Which hovers oft about some married beauties,

Called

Called "cavalier servento," a Pygmalion
 Whose statues warm—I fear, too true 'tis—
 Beneath his art. The dame, pressed to disclose them,
 Said: "Lady, I beseech you to *suppose them*."

Honi soit qui mal y pense. There is no occasion for supposing; nothing at which morality, delicacy, or prudery can take offence.

'This party of pleasure and pain passed thus. The day of departure, I had to hand Madame into her coach, and follow her in mine exactly to the half-way station, where I had ordered a grand dinner, to which she invited all the persons of her acquaintance who were on the road to Alexandria. After the dinner, and after having handed her into her coach, I went on before to make the necessary arrangements in the rooms engaged for her, and order the supper. The next day I was obliged to be at the Court by eight, to learn the pleasures of the day, report them to Madame, and return to the Court at ten to accompany the King to mass. After taking leave of the King, I had to go for Madame, and escort her to the fair. The first time I was obliged to buy her a fan, at a cost of ten or twelve louis. She gave me a sword-knot in exchange. At half-past one, I accompanied her wherever she was invited; and, after presenting her with a basin of water and napkin, I took my place at her side; for the *cicisbeo* is always understood to be invited with his lady, and I had to help her to everything, both food and wine. Towards five, I escorted her to the opera; where I was obliged to remain in her box so long as she was alone, but as soon as any gentleman arrived, I was bound to go out and remain in the pit till he went away, and then resume my place in it.

'On leaving the opera, I presented her her gloves, her fan, her cloak, and took her to the royal apartments, where she supped at the King's table, and I at the Grand Master's, for men do not eat with the Queen. On rising from table, I took her to the theatre, which, after the performance, had been converted into a ball-room. Whenever Madame wished to dance, I was obliged to dance with her, if no one else asked her. The ball never finished before five: I had then to escort my lady to her apartments, and as a reward in full for my trouble, she gave me her hand to kiss, and I went home. This routine lasted eight days, and I was very glad when it was over, and Madame had given me my discharge, which was not till our return to Turin, and after I had given her another dinner at the half-way station.'

He adds that the aristocracy of Alexandria had preserved most of the manners and customs of the Spaniards.

'That which struck me most in their repasts was, that at their table of forty covers, there were only four dishes of roast, in pyramids, at the four corners, of such enormous size that two servants could hardly carry one of them. The first layer was of sucking pigs, the second of turkey poults, the third of pheasants, the fourth of chicken, the fifth of partridges, the sixth of quails, the seventh of thrushes, crowned by seven or eight silver skewers of ortolans.'

All

All went on smoothly enough for the best part of a year, during which Charles Emanuel took no step of importance without consulting his father, and paid the most respectful attention to his representations and advice. This by no means suited the plans of the Marquis d'Ormea, who was intriguing to get the uncontrolled administration of affairs into his own hands, whilst amusing the young king with a succession of fêtes. He was really a superior man, of political genius and capacity as well as grasping ambition, a kind of Italian Alberoni, and he speedily gained an ascendancy over the mind of the young king, which required nothing but the cessation of the weekly reports to become paramount. His preparatory tactics for getting rid of them were to tell all who applied to him that he could do nothing without a reference to Chambéry: 'We have the representation at Turin, but the organ that puts the puppets in motion is in Savoy.' This was repeated so often that it sank into the public mind, and at length reached Charles Emanuel, who underwent the mortification of hearing that his subjects had no confidence in him, that they looked elsewhere for favour or preferment, and that he was universally supposed to have had a mere phantom of royalty transferred to him. Most opportunely for the Marquis, the ex-king had an attack of apoplexy at the beginning of 1731, on hearing of which a royal fête, which had been planned on a scale of extraordinary magnificence, was put off, and the King was on the point of starting for Chambéry, when a letter dictated by King Victor was received, saying that he was already better and insisting that the journey across the mountains at such a season should be given up. It was consequently delayed, and the King did not arrive at Chambéry till the 29th of March. He stayed with his father till the 14th of April, and during the whole time the best possible understanding prevailed; which M. de Blondel adduces in disproof of the assumption that Victor had taken offence at the delay of the visit, and that the Marquise had availed herself of the circumstance to irritate him against his son.

Dating from the 9th of February, when the news of the illness reached Turin, the Marquis d'Ormea had suppressed the weekly bulletins; and on the King's asking, a month after the visit to Chambéry, whether they had been regularly despatched, he was told that they had been discontinued altogether. To have sent them, it was urged, during the ex-king's illness would have been to expose secrets of State to the curious eyes and ears of doctors and nurses; and to resume them after his recovery would necessitate the composition of

. . . volumes

volumes to connect the present with the past. 'King Charles was weak enough to be swayed by this bad reasoning, which was the unhappy source of the monstrous events which followed, for King Victor did not think it consistent with his dignity, after the sacrifice he had made to his son, to demand an account of his administration, and each day added to his causes of irritation, which, it appears, the Marquise de Spigno did not soften down.' King Victor, however, so dissembled his mortification and resentment, that it only began to be observed at the end of July 1731, when King Charles was obliged to take Chambéry in his way to the baths of Evian. Although M. de Blondel saw the ex-king soon after this meeting, and conversed with him in the usual tone of confidence and familiarity on all subjects, his first notion (he states) of the misunderstanding between the two princes was given him at a Chambéry ball the same evening by a lady, who told him 'that King Victor was not satisfied either with his son or his minister, and that there had been ill feeling and a much shorter stay than had been intended.'

He was in France when he heard that a downright breach had occurred at the return meeting at Chambéry, which King Charles, after announcing a visit of fifteen days, had abruptly quitted on the second day at eleven at night, on horseback, accompanied only by an equerry, a page, and a footman, through the mountain passes of the Tarantaise, where the roads were abominable. The authentic explanation, subsequently acquired and confirmed, was that King Victor, while receiving the Queen, his daughter-in-law, with the customary marks of affection, threw the most marked air of coldness and offended dignity into his reception of his son: that his manner remained unaltered the next day, when, on the Marquis d'Ormea and the Marquis del Borgo presenting themselves to pay their respects, he overwhelmed them with reproaches, saying that he repented having given such bad ministers to his son, whose confidence they abused. They forthwith carried an exaggerated version of what had passed to King Charles, who, bred up in panic awe of his father, was led to believe that his life was no longer safe at Chambéry, and that there was no violence of which the old man was not capable in his present mood, to the extent even of drawing his sword upon his son. The upshot was that they left secretly by one route, whilst King Charles started off by another: they taking the best and most frequented, under the pretence of putting King Victor upon a false scent; as if a pursuit were possible in his state of health and with the means at his disposal, had he really entertained so
absurd

absurd a notion. They clearly overacted their parts, except so far as the immediate object of frightening and fatally committing their young sovereign was attained.

The morning after their departure King Victor sent to inquire if his son was awake, and, on being informed that he had started for Turin the night before, hurried immediately to the Queen, who told him that King Charles, having received a courier from Turin, had been forced to repair thither with his ministers; her directions and intentions being to follow as soon as the carriages and relays could be got ready. He highly commended her resolution of following her husband, and during the remaining two days of her visit treated her with the greatest kindness and attention. As soon as she was gone, he ordered preparations (which took six days) to be made for his own return to Piedmont, with the alleged object of bringing back his son to his old habits of deference and of controlling the baneful influence of the ministers. But that, at this time, he had avowed an intention of resuming the throne, is negatived by the fact that, on reaching Mont Cenis, he dispatched a courier to announce his having left Chambéry because the air was absolutely injurious to his health, requesting the King to indicate the province and town that might be deemed preferable for his residence, adding that he should sleep the next night at Rivoli, where he hoped to receive the decision of his Majesty. He further requested the payment of his next quarter's revenue in advance, to defray the expenses of his journey.

King Charles replied that he might choose any place he thought best for his health, and made a point of being at Rivoli to receive him; but the coldness continued, and all sorts of stories were got up by D'Ormea to widen the breach and excite the apprehensions of the young King. The garrison was largely reinforced, as if in anticipation of a *coup de main*; and numerous promotions were made, as if to secure the wavering fidelity of the army. It was simultaneously given out that the Marquis de Fonsberi had come to an understanding through the Marquis de Rivard to deliver up the city of Turin to his old master, and that the court physician and apothecary had been engaged to poison King Charles; who between fright and some lingering remains of filial piety would, it was said, have readily surrendered the throne had he not been repelled and disgusted at the thought of allowing his Queen to be superseded by her former mistress of the robes, by whom (he was assured) the whole intrigue and conspiracy had been set on foot. 'The recent example of Philip V., of Spain,' observes M. de Beauregard, 'whose first care on reascending the throne had been to sacrifice the ministers of his

son, was not calculated to tranquillize the ministers of King Charles.*

But it was not enough for them to overrule this wavering resolution of their young sovereign, if he really entertained any notion of resigning. Their fate now hung on his complete emancipation from the influence of King Victor, who was only to be conciliated by the dismissal of D'Ormea from the court and councils of his son. The struggle was rapidly becoming one of life and death, and D'Ormea was not the man to resort to half-measures in an emergency. The bill of indictment he drew up against his old master and laid before the memorable council of the 28th of September, was so overwhelming, that without asking for evidence or looking to the internal improbabilities of the charges, the councillors were unanimous in pressing the King to sign the order of arrest. He was still hesitating, when a knock was heard at the door. It was an officer with a billet from the governor, announcing an attempt of the old King to introduce himself into the place, and all hesitation ceased. Now, in the document purporting to be a faithful relation, afterwards circulated by the Marquis, we find—

'He (King Victor) hoped to gain entrance into the citadel by a feint, which failed. He drove round this fortress in his carriage, and when he was near the *porte de secours* he pretended to have the colic, to which he was much subject, and sent for the Baron de Saint Remy,† the governor, to allow him to enter and repose. The governor came out to speak to him, and said he had not the key, which was in the possession of King Charles. King Victor hoped that, being master of the citadel, he should raise the inhabitants of Turin in the fear of seeing it bombarded, and arrest King Charles with the aid of persons gained by the commandant. On the failure of this attempt, he reproached his son, saying that he was unfit to reign, and that he (King Victor) would resume the government; otherwise he would kindle the flames of war in the four corners and in the middle of his states, and that he would procure foreign troops to second him.'

The attempt to enter the citadel, therefore, must have been perfectly well known to the Council; but, in point of fact, there was no such attempt. The story is a pure fiction; and so is the allegation of a conspiracy or plot. None of the persons

* 'Mémoires Historiques,' vol. iii. p. 149. Philip abdicated in favour of his son, Louis, January 4, 1724, and resumed the throne on his son's death in the August following.

† Count Litta says that the alleged attempt to enter the citadel was proved by a letter from Pallavicino, the governor.

to whom King Victor's strong language was reported to have been addressed were misled by it: not a single friend or former servant acted with him; and the five or six persons arrested on pretended suspicion, for form's sake, were set at liberty at the end of a few days, not a vestige of complicity being proved against them. As one of the first acts of the Marquis d'Ormea, on arriving at Montcalier with the order of arrest, was to break open the writing-boxes and seize the papers of the ex-king, it may be taken for granted that, if any evidence of a conspiracy had existed, it would have been produced. The circumstantial details of the arrest will be read with mingled indignation and surprise.

The brigadier, Comte de Perouse, accompanied by four colonels and the officers of a company of grenadiers, presented himself an hour after midnight at the door of the ex-king's bedroom, and, having tried false keys, had it broken open with hatchets. The Marquise de Spigno was the first to take the alarm. Springing out of bed she rushed to the door, and seeing grenadiers with bayonets fixed and flambeaux, she rushed back and woke the King, exclaiming: '*Ah, mon Roi, nous sommes perdus!*' The King, sitting up in bed and inquiring what was meant by such an outrage at such an hour, the brigadier, having first secured his sword, expressed a hope that he would spare them the pain of having recourse to violence by submitting to the execution of their orders; on which the King, after a vain appeal to their loyalty and the sacredness of his person, sank back on his bed, flung his arms round the Marquise, and remained motionless for a quarter of an hour, during which the brigadier was silent, regarding it as a last adieu. At length, seeing no other way of ending the scene, he three times summoned the King to yield, and receiving no answer, ordered the Chevalier de Birage, major of grenadiers, who was charged to arrest the Marquise, to do his duty whilst he (the brigadier) did his.

It was as much as both, aided by the four colonels, could do to separate the King and his wife, who clung together with legs and arms intertwined; the bedclothes being scattered all over the floor in the struggle. The room was lined with armed grenadiers, forming a circle, in the centre of which stood the twelve officers with their swords drawn. The Marquise was finally torn from her husband with her night-dress in tatters, dragged on her back from the bed to her dressing-room, and exposed to the rude gaze of the soldiers whilst she was still struggling in this dishevelled condition to rejoin the King, who kept making the most passionate and touching appeals to the grenadiers;

reminding them that he had mingled his blood with theirs a hundred times in defence of their country, and demanding if they had the heart to treat as a prisoner him to whom they had sworn allegiance as their King. The officers threatened death to anyone who should raise a finger in his behalf; and refusing to put on his clothes, and vowing that he would endure the utmost extent of ignominy rather than tamely submit to such treatment, he was half-led half-carried to the carriage in waiting. One of the colonels, a soldier of fortune, was about to get in with him, when the ex-king repelled him by a blow, crying out: 'Wretch, learn the respect which is my due, and know that people of thy degree should never enter the carriage of their king.' On being shown the written order, he tore it to pieces, vowing that no such order could have emanated from his son, and that the indignities heaped upon him were all owing to the 'vile ministers.'

The road from Montcalier to Rivoli was cleared by a detachment of dragoons, who caused all the doors and windows in the villages to be closed under pain of death. On arriving, the royal victim was so broken by fury and fatigue, that his tongue, covered with foam, hung two inches from his mouth, and his eyes glared more wildly at the sight of the blacksmiths securing the windows of the apartment destined for him with iron bars. A marble slab which he broke by a blow of his fist, used to be shown as one of the curiosities of the chateau. The orders of the officers were to watch him night and day; to report everything he said or did; and to make no reply to him, even by Yes or No, but simply by a bow. One officer slept on a mattress inside his chamber across the door, and another outside. As for his wife, the Marquise, after being compelled to dress, she was placed in a coach with the major, her *femme-de-chambre* in another with a private soldier, and they were thus conveyed under an escort of fifty dragoons to the fort of Ceva, a reformatory prison or penitentiary, in which women of bad character (*mauvaise vie*) were ordinarily confined.

M. de Blondel states that soon after these details had been supplied to him on good authority, he met the Archbishop of Turin and Marshal de Rhèbinder, who each separately confirmed the strict accuracy of his informants. The Marshal, referring to the first council after the arrest, at which the Marquis d'Ormea was driven to confess that no evidence of the alleged plot was forthcoming, used these words:—

'At this first Council of State I was seized with horror at the enormous crime that had been committed, reflecting on the small means of King Victor for resuming the crown, seeing no intelligence
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with the foreigner, and knowing the little love his subjects and the nobility had on account of his former arbitrary proceedings; but what aggravated my regret was the report made at another Council of the innocence of all the prisoners that had been arrested. I then felt that the imprisonment of these gentlemen had been an excess of scoundrelism on the part of the Marquis d'Ormea to embolden the King to so frightful a step.'

M. de Blondel sent regular reports of all he heard or saw to his own Court; and a despatch from M. le Garde des Sceaux, dated October 30th, 1731, begins:—

'I have received your letter of the 20th of this month. The Cardinal de Fleury and myself are perfectly satisfied with the details you have given us of the event of the 29th September, as likewise with all you said in the audience which the King of Sardinia granted you when you appeared for the first time at La Venerie. Even had we not reason to believe you as well informed as you are, all you report to us would not fail to appear true; the rather that nothing has reached the King (of France) of a nature to clear up and justify the causes and motives of so singular an event.'

His subsequent instructions were to be extremely guarded in his language, and not to be thought to condemn what had been done. 'You would thus become the object of grave suspicion on the part of the Marquis d'Ormea; and this minister, thinking himself blamed by France, would have no other resource than to make common cause with the Emperor.'

The most plausible justification, that King Victor was insane, was hardly attempted; indeed, it was utterly incapable of proof, for, except in his by no means unnatural fits of passion, his language was calm and reasonable, persistently asserting that his son could never be such a monster of ingratitude, and that the 'vile ministers' were exclusively responsible.

According to M. Carutti, who adopts what may be taken as the Marquis d'Ormea's version throughout, the Marquis had no less than five interviews with King Victor subsequently to his return from Chambéry. The angry scene which caused the precipitate and unceremonious departure of King Charles and his Ministers, would thus appear to have made no change in their relations to King Victor, who, on his son's saying that the Marquis was always at his orders, is made to reply: 'Well, let him come to-morrow; but this kind of people ought to come without being sent for.' He did come to-morrow (September 16), and on his own personal unattested report of what took place, 'Charles Emanuel understood, the Ministry understood, that the catastrophe of the drama was drawing near.'*. No authority whatever is adduced

* Carutti, p. 495.

for these interviews, which are highly improbable. There are two conflicting stories of the manner in which the alleged intention to revoke the Act of Abdication, or treat it as null and void, became known. M. de Beauregard's is, that a young priest, concealed behind a curtain, overheard a conversation between King Victor and the Marquise, in which they talked over their plans. M. Carutti says that it was the Abbé Boggio di Sangano, the ex-king's former confessor, who, having been peremptorily required by him to take a formal minute of the revocation on the 26th, carried the information to the Secretary of the Cabinet. Certain it is that, when the Cabinet met, little or nothing but hearsay evidence of the most suspicious character was forthcoming.

Although M. de Blondel could not venture to remonstrate openly or directly, he found means to convey his own impression of the whole affair, as well as that of the French Court, to the Marquis, who could hardly have been ignorant of the light in which it was also viewed in Spain, where the King had made one abdication and was meditating another. On the 4th October, 1731, the Comte de Rottenbourg, French Ambassador at Madrid, writes to M. de Blondel:—

‘The King of Spain thinks the action of King Charles very cruel, inhuman, and infinitely blamable. The Queen dwells strongly on the ingratitude of children, on what is to be expected from them, and that commonly one nourishes a viper in one's bosom. People here speculate much on the results of this event. They presume that it will divide Europe; that France, with some other power, will take the part of one of the two kings; that the Emperor, who regards himself as the master of Italy, will protect the other. France, with the view of opening Italy to herself, and the Emperor with the view of securing this passage which is the only gap he has to keep, whilst leagued with the maritime powers he has nothing to fear from a war of transport (*sic*). Such are the current reasonings on this subject. The Queen has got such complete hold of the King's mind on the subject of the detention of King Victor, that you cannot imagine to what extent this prince is animated. He told me with fury that all Europe ought to arm against such a monster: that the reign of Nero supplied nothing so inhuman.’

Although considerations of policy prevented the interference of foreign powers, it was not deemed safe to defy European opinion to the extent of detaining the ex-king in solitary confinement and continuing the harsh treatment which was known to be telling fatally on his health. Accordingly he was transferred to the Château de Montcalier, where he was allowed the range of a terrace and a small wood, fenced round by palisades, and carefully

fully guarded. The Marquise, his wife, had been allowed to rejoin him on the 10th December, 1731, upon very hard conditions. She was forbidden, under penalty of decapitation, to tell King Victor that she had been a prisoner in the Castle of Ceva, and ordered to say that she had been during the whole time of separation at the convent of Pignerol. They were both conveyed to the Château de Montcalier on the 12th April, 1732, at twelve at night—each in a litter, escorted by a detachment of dragoons and thirty-six body guards, where they remained without communication with anyone whatever till the death of King Victor on the 31st October, 1732.

‘This unhappy prince (says M. de Blondel) never ceased praying King Charles to come to see him ; causing him to be assured that he should be exposed to no reproaches, that his (the father’s) sole wish was to embrace and give his parting benediction to the son. Fifteen days before his death, he reiterated his most earnest entreaties, saying, that if this last consolation was granted him, he should die content. But the Marquis d’Ormea had such empire over his master, that he dissuaded him from complying, urging that the interview might so agitate King Victor as to shorten his days, and would certainly bring on a second attack of apoplexy, which would be badly interpreted in Europe.’

During the reign of Charles Emanuel, which lasted forty-three years, ‘the threatening spectre of the Castle of Miolans closed the mouths’ of the good people of Turin. But it was not deemed enough to silence contemporaries. Effective means were taken to poison or trouble history at its source. First came the document preserved by M. de Blondel, as one of his *Pièces Justificatives*, under the title of ‘Copy of a Letter fabricated by the Marquis d’Ormea, and spread amongst the Public as a Faithful Relation of the Event of 28th September, 1731.’ Then, partly based upon it, what purported to be a full and faithful Account of the Abdication, Arrest, and Death of King Victor, by Count Radicati, an exile who hoped to make his peace with the Sardinian Court and procure his recall by popularising their version of the facts. He succeeded to the extent of being implicitly accepted as an authority by succeeding annalists, with the exception of Muratori, who, in January 1749, wrote thus from Modena to the Count Bogino, then principal Minister of Charles Emanuel :—

‘EXCELLENCE,—Since the peace, so delayed by difficulties, is about to be completed, and I am on the point of concluding my “Annals,” with a view to publication,—in speaking of the last years of King Victor Amadeus, I should wish to say nothing that could displease the most gracious reigning sovereign, his son, from whom I have received

received so many favours. Therefore, I send your Excellency the paragraphs touching the resolutions taken by him, with the request, if thought right, to submit them to his Majesty, in order that they may undergo correction or addition, as may seem meet to his superior prudence.'

The accompanying sheets of the Annals, with the marginal notes of Bogino, have been preserved in the royal archives. One of the notes expressly negatives the statement that Victor Amadeus, during his sojourn at Chambéry, gave any sign of repenting the abdication. Another note is in these words: 'The threat of cutting off the head of one of the principal Ministers, the application to the Marquis del Borgo for the Act of Abdication, the billet to the governor of the citadel, are facts current at the time, but without foundation.' Adhering (as we have seen) to the essential statement, Muratori gave up the fanciful accessories, or 'fables' as M. Carutti terms them, whilst admitting numerous statements which bear the same marks of fiction or bad faith. "

We further learn from M. Carutti that, four years before Muratori's application, the Abbé Palazzi had been officially retained to compose an authentic Narrative, founded on oral communications with King Charles and documents in the royal archives, most of which, strange to say, have subsequently disappeared. As this Narrative has been studiously kept back, there is no want of charity in assuming that it would not bear the broad light of day; and, as the case stands at present, the inevitable conclusion is that the received judgment of history, with a hundred and forty years' prescriptive authority in its favour, must be reversed.

ART. IX.—1. *Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, for the years 1870–1874.*

2. *The Church and her Curates.* Edited by the Rev. J. J. Halcombe, M.A., Rector of Balsham, Cambs.

3. *Report of the Church Congress held at Bath in 1873. Papers on Clergy Supply.*

TO a man who can keep a cool head, all the present stir about Church matters cannot fail to be intensely interesting. Not that the conflict about the Primate's Bill is one to write an epic on or to excite enthusiasm in the beholder. That some reform in the constitution and procedure of our Ecclesiastical Courts must some day be made, has long been obvious. That a Bill

Bill like this should excite the keenest controversy was only natural. It is not the Bill itself, or the incidents of the strife about its details, which rouse the interest of the thoughtful ecclesiastic or the genuine statesman. These things such men pass by. It is otherwise when you inquire into the circumstances which have rendered such an excitement about such a matter possible : how it is that a measure of the kind has come to the front at all ; how it has grown naturally out of the long sequence of events in the history of our Church and Realm ; and how it is likely to act when in its turn it has become a fresh point of departure from which new events will issue. We are not using stilted language, or falling into the error of magnifying contemporary events, when we say that, looked at thus, the action now going forward claims our best attention, because it is of the last importance. It is a turning-point in the fortunes of the Church *in* England ; it is a turning-point in the history of the Church *of* England,—that Church which has maintained relations with the realm of England through every change of dynasty and fortune, and been faithful to the realm through all. It is a turning-point in the history of a Church whose sees are older than the Monarchy ; whose charters were confirmed by Knut the Dane ; thousands of whose parishes are still as they were settled under the Norman kings ; and whose fabrics are the handiwork of more than twenty generations of Englishmen. It is a turning-point, too, in the history of a Church whose bishops have been an integral part of the national legislature, and whose courts and convocations have formed part of the national constitution through all the changes and revolutions of which our history has to tell. To a man who can look before and after, who can see in a given crisis the many forces of which it is the single resultant, and who can also forecast the diverse issues which must follow according as it is wisely dealt with or the reverse, the situation is full of the deepest interest. These are strong words to use about what some may regard as a mere ephemeral phenomenon, but they are true. In the few pages at our disposal we shall hope in some measure, however cursorily, to justify them. Let us begin with something in which all will agree.

Everybody admits, everybody is ready to assert, the marvellous revival of the Church of England during the present century. Men point to it alike in the character of her clergy and the zeal of her laity. It is a revival which has shown itself in every department of practical Church work, in the extension of the means of grace and the furtherance of all matters of practical philanthropy, in the spread of education, in the revival of architecture, in all subjects of sacred literature and sacred art,
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in unbounded zeal in the study of that Liturgy which, next to the sacred Scriptures, is our closest link with the far-off ages of primitive Christianity. Thus much everybody sees. The point to which we have attained is known to all. But there are three things which are not so well known to all; and these three things are: (1) the state of prostration from which the Church had to recover herself; (2) the steps by which her recovery thus far has been effected; and (3) the partial and one-sided nature of her recovery, so far as it has yet advanced. All of these have to be taken into account before we can quite understand the state of *tension*—to borrow a word from the diplomatists—which at present exists in the relations between Church and State. The State has no wish to quarrel with the Church; quite the reverse. The Church is thoroughly loyal to the State; a few fervid utterances of excited individuals notwithstanding. And yet a Bill which, looked at simply in its naked essence, is only for a reform in our courts, and which does not so much as touch the law which those courts administer, sets us all in a flame.* It sounds like a paradox. But let us go back to history, and we shall see that the underlying cause is only a necessary incident in the course of that long, slow, continuous revival of usefulness on the part of the Church, of which the commencement dates back more than half a century. A danger understood is robbed of half its mischief; we shall therefore make no apology to our readers for devoting the major part of our space to a sketch of this ‘revival of usefulness’ which has marked the Church history of the past sixty years; a revival more complex in its procedure than most people are aware of, owing to the peculiar legal relations of that complex institution, the ‘Established Church of England.’

I. To begin then. In the early part of the present century, the Church as by law established was not in a position to discharge its duties to the nation. Everybody can speak of the long period of inactivity which had gone by. But it is not every one who remembers that when the first stirrings of renewed activity began, it was not only that lee-way had to be made up, but that the England of (say) 1800–1820 was a

* Lord Selborne is strictly accurate in what he writes in his letter of June 13th, published in the ‘Times’ of a day or two after. We extract the following paragraph:—‘How any part of the substance of Church discipline or of the rights of the clergy can be affected by the proposed legislation is not to me apparent, unless indeed it is contended that the clergy have a vested interest in the continuance of technical and formal impediments to the execution of the laws of the Church.’ But on behalf of the clergy, it should be said that not one of them knows what those laws may be declared to be, and that thus far the law courts have not much helped them.

different England from that of a hundred years before. Our manufacturing system had grown up ; our great towns had come into existence. If the Church was to be useful, *here* lay her work. We, in this year of grace 1874, are so in the habit of looking at the prodigious further increase of our urban populations of the last forty years, that we have forgotten the fact, that *relatively* the change from what England was in the days of Queen Anne to what she had become in the later years of George III. was greater still. So, then, when the Church began to wake after her long slumber, she woke to what was very largely a new sphere of duty. It was not merely the old usefulness that she must wake to. It was very largely a new usefulness to which she must adapt herself. Further : when the Church began to wake, she did not wake up as a Church *pur et simple*. She was a Church, but she was an Established Church as well ; fenced round by a legal system, serviceable no doubt for the old usefulness of a hundred years before, but for that very reason a hindrance to the new usefulness wanted now. The secular laws *about* the Church must be adapted to the altered state of the nation, or the restoration of usefulness was impossible. Each movement of renewed vitality on the part of the Church must have some corresponding action on the part of the secular legislature ; (1) to remove some old restriction ; (2) to afford a wholesome channel of activity, and this in whatever department new activity was needed. From that time to this these processes have been going on, now in one department of Church work, now in another. It is to the fact that, on the whole, the Church and the Legislature have managed to get on with a very fair amount of reciprocity, that the existing revival of usefulness is due.

Looking at things from the secular side, the Establishment may be described as the constitutional vehicle or channel for the religious zeal and energy of the Church. Hence it becomes the interest, and therefore also the duty, of the State—its duty we mean to its own members and constituents—so to legislate as to foster that zeal and energy for the sake of the benefits they confer upon the community. You cannot create religious zeal by Acts of Parliament. Yet religious zeal will render services to the community of its own mere motion, if you will only let it, which money cannot buy and which temporal honours will not induce men to perform. Hence it becomes the interest of the State, and therefore also its duty to its members, to make terms with religious zeal, so far as is not inconsistent with public policy. In all this we are looking at things from a purely secular point of view, but it is a point of view which cannot be omitted from our regard. For in tracing the steps by which ~~the~~ present revival

revival of Church usefulness has been attained, we are not tracing the action of a Church *pur et simple*, but of an Established Church which has to seek modifications of those secular laws whenever it needs to modify its action. And we are anxious to show, that whatever the State has done in facilitating Church work has resulted in a development of energy which has far more than justified the steps so taken, and which will also justify the State in giving favourable consideration to those further adjustments which intelligent Church opinion concurs in requiring. At the beginning of the present century, then, as we said above, the Church of England was in no condition to do her duty by the nation. The number of her parochial clergy (about 10,300) was positively smaller than that (about 10,600) of the parishes to be served: more than half (5555) of her benefices were under 50*l.* in annual value: large numbers were still as low as 30*l.*, and not half of them were provided with parsonage-houses. Even this was an improvement, for Queen Anne's Bounty had been augmenting the poorest livings since 1714, but so great was the number of the poorest livings to be augmented, that for three-quarters of a century a living of 50*l.* was not poor enough to be entitled to assistance. In such a state of things pluralities were of course a necessity, and the clergy were divided into pluralist incumbents and stipendiary curates, of whom a certain proportion became incumbents in their turn, but at least an equal proportion remained curates to the end of their days. As to the status of the clergy, the incumbents, and those curates who had prospects of preferment, were for the most part graduates. Of the rest, Sydney Smith, writing a little later, 1808, says :—

‘ With regard to those who take curacies as a means of subsistence, and with the prospect of remaining permanently in that situation, it is certain that by far the greater part of them are persons born in a very humble rank in society, and accustomed to no greater opulence than that of an ordinary curate.’

What that ‘opulence’ usually was may be inferred, when the same writer* shortly afterwards recommends that if a rector with 500*l.* a year is to be, by this law, compelled to give his curate the enormous stipend of 100*l.* a year, it would be desirable to add the further condition of such curate being a ‘Master of Arts of one of the Universities,’ on the ground that such a stipend would make it ‘worth the while of such men to take curacies.’ The distribution of the clergy was a still worse feature than their fewness, or their poverty. For while, so far as mere numbers

* Letter on Mr. Spencer Perceval's Curates' Salary Bill : ‘Edinburgh Review,’ 1808.

went, there may have been nearly clergy enough for the rural districts, the great towns had now grown up into importance, and literally *nothing* had been done for their spiritual supervision. Yet it would be most unjust to lay all the blame of this upon the apathy of Christian men during the previous period. There were thousands who felt it and deplored it; but what could they do? The Church of England was established by law; the laws by which the State had fenced her parochial system a hundred and fifty years before were still in force. You simply *could* not subdivide a parish without a special Act of Parliament, a process expensive, tedious, and uncertain. These things had been perhaps the necessary safeguards of the parochial system a few generations before. Now they were the fetters which would not suffer her to move in the direction of her work. In mediæval story we often read of the dismounted knight prostrate beneath the weight of his equipment, and at last dying suffocated by the armour which had made him invulnerable while on horseback. So the Church lay prostrate, helpless under the pressure of the laws of her establishment,* and she was very nearly suffocated indeed. Observe the full bearing of this, and how it not only prevented the Church from doing its duty by the nation, but by thus excluding (for it was no less) the clergy from the places where they were most wanted, it also prevented them from enlisting the zeal and sympathy of the laity in the extension of her work, and that too in the very places where the most energetic

* The whole number of churches consecrated throughout England and Wales during the first seven years of this century was only twenty-four. We have been unable to ascertain how many of these were new churches altogether, and how many were old churches rebuilt. Well might Sydney Smith, who certainly was anxious enough for the efficiency of the Church, desire to 'raise the English clergy to the privileges of the Dissenters.' Such passages as the following were only too true a description:—'In any parish of England, any layman, or clergyman, by paying sixpence, can open a place of worship, provided it be not the worship of the Church of England. If he wishes to attack the doctrines of the bishop or the incumbent, he is not compelled to ask the consent of any person; but if by any evil chance he should be persuaded of the truth of those doctrines, and build a chapel or mount a pulpit to support them, he is instantly put in the Spiritual Court, for the regular incumbent, who has a legal monopoly of this doctrine, does not choose to suffer any interloper; and without his consent it is illegal to preach the doctrines of the Church within his precincts. Now this appears to us a disadvantage against the Established Church which very few Establishments could bear.

'It might be supposed that the general interests of the Church would outweigh the particular interests of the rector. The fact, however, is directly the reverse. The parishes of St. George, of St. James, of Marylebone, and of St. Anne's, in London, may, in the parish churches, chapels of ease, and mercenary chapels, contain, perhaps, one hundredth part of their Episcopalian inhabitants. Let the rectors, lay and clerical, give notice that any clergyman of the Church of England, approved by the bishop, may preach there, and we will venture to say that places of worship, capable of containing 20,000 persons, would be built within ten years.'—*Edinburgh Review*, 1811.

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portions of the community were to be found. Dissent was at its lowest ebb at the end of the eighteenth and in the early years of the present century. Its growth dates from the time of which we speak: its vitality—its religious vitality we mean—arose from its drawing to itself whatever religious feeling there was in our denser populations and which had neither church nor clergyman round which to crystallize. By the time that George IV. was king, Dissent, and not the Church, was in possession of the religious allegiance of the great towns. By the time that William IV. succeeded him, Dissent was a power in the State.

II. It is time that we should turn next to the steps by which the recovery, so far as there has been recovery, has been effected. It is the custom to speak, and to speak strongly, of the improved character and tone of the clergy, of their devotion as contrasted with past secularity, of their industry as contrasted with former indolence. In Lady Holland's 'Life of Sydney Smith,' whom we have already had to quote, she introduces her father as remarking that of all the changes he had lived to see, there was none to be compared to the change in the tone and character of the clergy of the English Church. The passage is well known, and we need only to allude to it in passing. But surely it is only half the truth. Were the witty and observant speaker to come among us again, would he not have to add that at least an equal change has now to be observed in the *laity* of the English Church? We do not mean in the whole mass of the laity of the English nation, though, perhaps, there is more to be said even on this head than some might imagine. Our remark is intended to apply to what is capable of absolute demonstration and statistical evidence—namely, the revival of zeal, the uprising of a liberality in Church work on the part of such laymen as have entered into it at all, to which we do not believe that any age of Christendom in any country—let alone England—can provide a parallel. It is easy to speak of the present age as one of an unbounded and most dangerous luxury, of scepticism, and of licence at once in opinion and in morals. It is only too easy to speak so, for it is too true. But then the other side of the picture is true as well. The fact stares us in the face. The large and varied usefulness which the Church can now exhibit, could not have been attained without it. Viewed as an institution possessing property, she simply never had the money to do it with. The endowments, about which so much is said, do not, probably, go more than one-third of the way towards the maintenance of her clergy, to say nothing of the works which have been carried out. It is lay money which has had to do what we behold. It may be said that the laymen who
have

have thus offered their work and their wealth to the Church's service are but a small section of the nation as a whole. Be it so. But for all that, there they are; they are a body; they are an increasing body; and fifty years ago the Church had no such mass of lay zeal to look to. We say no such *mass* of lay zeal, for at the worst of times she had individual laymen of the most conspicuous worth. But now it is no longer a question of individuals. And we assert unhesitatingly that whatever may be said of the improvement of the clergy must be said with equal emphasis of that portion of the laity which realizes its Church-membership, or rather that the two have grown and increased *pari passu*. Further on we shall ask our readers to pause over some details on this head. For the present we must keep to our point, which is to trace the steps by which the change we speak of has been wrought;—to trace the steps by which the recovery has been accomplished from a state of things in which you had town parishes of 40,000 and a solitary clergyman, and no one cared; churches dreary and neglected, open only on the Sunday,* and then with services which were a weariness to the spirit even more than to the flesh; communions reduced to a minimum, and scarcely any communicants then; confirmations so rare and so conducted—or rather misconducted—that a bishop has been known to confirm 8000 in one day, and the occasion used to be one of as much peril as a fair to the morals of the young people;—Church education conspicuous only by its absence, and pastoral visitation a thing to be read of perhaps in Burnet's 'Pastoral Care,' but otherwise unthought of;—the recovery, we say, from all this, to a state of things in which, if we are yet far from having reached our standard, still a standard is set up and an ideal recognised, and hearty efforts made to reach it.

And our contention is this, that the recovery of usefulness has been effected, not by striking out new paths so much as by the steady removal of the old shackles of antiquated legislation—shackles which in their origin were very likely no shackles at all, but which had become so through change of time and circumstances—not by novel expedients, but by the joint recurrence of the State and of the Church to their old principles of mutual

* There is nothing like personal recollection. The writer well remembers the first occasion on which the idea of 'going to church' on a week-day was brought before him as a boy. His first idea was that it was something like desecration of a church to use it on a week-day! As to the prevailing ugliness of churches and dreariness of services he remembers a debate between some schoolboys, in which one of them maintained that there *must* be something inherently evil in things beautiful, or why were churches always so ugly? The argument went home to every one's experience, and was held to be unanswerable!

inter-action : not setting the Church free *from* the State, but by setting her free from artificial hindrances, and trusting her to work in the old grooves cleared out afresh : not subsidising her with State grants of cash, and so teaching her the enfeebling lesson of dependence, but opening the door of work, and knowing that with the work would come the men to do it, and the means to maintain it.

Such, at all events as we read it, has been the lesson of the last sixty years of our Church history. Where these principles have been observed, there Church usefulness has been recovered. Where they have been departed from, there we have seen comparative failure. And now the question is—What was the first great step? The first and primary function of a living Church is the pastoral care: so long as this function is discharged and goes on healthily, she will be able to bear great derangements in her other organs before they kill. Impede this function, and it is like stopping the action of the skin in the human system—nothing can go on right. It must be restored, or fever and death ensue. Happily in the physical constitution, so long as there is vitality at all, the suffering calls attention to the danger, and those organs are most susceptible of pain which are at once the most wanted for constant use and most essential to the well-being of the whole. So it was with the Church of England. It was not her parochial system only, but her whole system, which was choked with the accumulations of worn-out materials, so as to be a hindrance not a help to spiritual usefulness; but the pain was felt first where constant use was wanted most—*i. e.*, in the department of the pastoral care. Happily, the Church had vitality enough to feel the *malaise*. Happily, the State had the willingness to co-operate in the needful re-adjustment. Most happily of all, there was no disposition in either to strike out in new directions; but simply to clear away obstructions and to facilitate the extension of the ancient methods.

Thus it was, then, that the reform of our Church system began, so to speak, not from the centre, but from the circumference. It was in the region of where the lack of fitness of means to ends would first be felt and would produce the most immediate inconvenience—that, namely, of parochial work—that reform commenced. We have already stated that to build a church and form a new parish was a thing almost impossible. It cost one thousand pounds to obtain powers for building a new church in Derby. At last, in 1818, the first steps were taken concurrently by the Church and by the State. By the Church the Incorporated Church Building Society was founded. By the State the first Church Building Act (58 Geo. III.), without which

which the Society would have been in vain, was passed, and the Church Building Commission commenced. In the absence of any central body, board, or committee representing the Church at large, the only way in which general Church action could be approximated to was (and in great measure it is so still) the formation of a voluntary society accredited by the most responsible and supported by the most active of the Church's members. It is, of course, a clumsy arrangement, but it has been the only one available. It was this action of the year 1818 which has determined the whole course of the revival of Church usefulness in the present century. By it that revival has been kept strictly within the old lines, and *parochialism*, as distinguished from the congregationalism of the Dissenting system, has been made the law of our Church extension. As to the importance of this remark, we need only point to the case of those towns, happily but few, where circumstances have led to the building of a mass of proprietary chapels, leaving the old parochial church the sole representative of the genuine Church system.* At the same time it must be confessed that this adherence to sound principle rendered Church extension unquestionably costly; it made it necessarily a work of time and patience, and, but for other adjustments following in course of time, it might have remained largely unfruitful. The great point is that a beginning was made, the legal obstructions were removed, that the beginning was made on sound principles, and that Church and State were going together. The relief to commerce consequent upon Sir R. Peel's policy is not more clearly shown by the changed returns of the Board of Trade than the effect of this first measure of Church relief by the change in the returns of church consecrations. It would take a couple of years at the very least before the change could tell at all; we will, therefore, contrast the number of churches consecrated in the ten years ending 1820—two years after the Act of 1818—with those of the succeeding decades. They stand as under:—

1811—1820	..	..	96		1841—1850	..	..	929
1821—1830	..	..	308		1851—1860	..	..	820
1831—1840	..	..	600		1861—1870	..	..	1110

These figures themselves are striking enough, but the following additional memoranda will show that this sudden expansion of our Church system was going on in the right places. Thus 200 churches were consecrated by Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Sumner in the diocese of Chester during his episcopate, 1828–1848. Bishop Blomfield, 1828–1856, consecrated

* Brighton may be instanced, now happily returning to a better state of things.
considerably

considerably more than 200 in his diocese of London. Bishop Lee, of Manchester, 1847–1869, consecrated 122. In the diocese of Ripon upwards of 250 churches have been consecrated since 1836 up to the present time. Between 1827 and 1870, the diocese of Winchester could show 218 new churches—43 were the gifts of individuals—50 school-chapels, and 112 rebuilt churches. And in the diocese of Lincoln, in the sixteen years between 1851 and 1867, not less than 284 churches were either built, rebuilt, or enlarged, at a cost of about a million sterling. Now, when we bear in mind that all this was accomplished by voluntary contributions, with the single exception of the parliamentary grant of one million at the outset, what does it show, but that, even if the mode of Church extension, by adhering strictly to the old parochial system, were somewhat slow and costly, the zeal and liberality of Churchmen were equal to the occasion, provided only the channels were opened for their liberality to flow in?

But just as Sir R. Peel's first steps in setting commerce free to follow its natural lines soon needed further steps to complete the work, so also with the external system of the Church. Reviving activity brought increasing perception that other details also wanted amendment besides those touched by the Act of 1818, details which could only be adjusted by the secular legislature. The Reform agitation was rising. The Church Establishment was attacked. There was no time to lose. In 1831 a Church Enquiry Commission was issued, and then, indeed, was revealed what a mass of details there were to be set right before efficiency could be expected. First and foremost were the poverty of livings, the lack of parsonage-houses, and the consequent pluralities; and then, going further into the administrative staff of the Church—we mean its episcopate—the poverty of many of its most important dioceses and the extreme inequality of their territorial extent. We only touch on a few salient points. But it would be well, indeed, if some of our more impatient friends were to be acquainted with the enormous mass of hindrances removed and facilities afforded, as regards Church usefulness, through the co-operation of Church and State in the legislation of the time of which we speak. Taking the number of benefices at 10,700, there were 4800 without a habitable parsonage. *Now*, there are upwards of 11,000 habitable parsonage-houses. *Then*, out of 5230 assistant curates, no fewer than 4224 were employed by non-resident incumbents. In the neighbourhood of Norwich three brothers held fifteen livings. Thus much as to the circumstances of the parochial clergy. Next, as to the episcopate. A popular impression prevails that in 'old times' the bishops were

were absurdly wealthy. The fact, with certain exceptions, is the other way.* No fewer than fourteen had to be raised in income, and in several instances houses also had to be provided,† if the bishop was to reside in his diocese. The Act of 1836, which settled episcopal incomes, was second only, if second, in importance to that of 1818 to facilitate parochial extension. Prior to 1836, the poorer bishops eked out their incomes‡ by other preferments, deaneries, canonries, or livings, which took them away from their dioceses. Or the bishop of a poor see would be expecting translation to a richer, instead of feeling that he was most probably fixed for life. The new Act prohibited alike removals to new sees (excepting to those of Canterbury, York, London, Durham, and Winchester) and the holding of other preferments. Altogether it must be asserted that the Act of 1836, if it cannot be said to have caused, has yet most materially conduced to that revival of episcopal efficiency which is, at least, as marked a feature in our time as the revival of parochial work. The matter of episcopal re-settlement was comparatively easy. That of parochial reform was a very different affair, and to this the Ecclesiastical Commission addressed itself in earnest. The bold step was taken of abolishing pluralities by Act of Parliament, so as henceforward to secure a resident incumbent for every parish.

* The following table shows the Episcopal incomes as ascertained by the Enquiry of 1831, and as since arranged by the Act of Parliament of 1836:—

	£	£					
Canterbury, reduced from	19,000	to 15,000	Carlisle, raised from	. . .	2200	to 4500	
Durham	19,000	,, 8,000	Chester	,, . . .	3200	,, 4500	
London	13,900	,, 10,000	St. David's	,, . . .	1900	,, 4500	
York	12,600	,, 10,000	Exeter	,, . . .	2700	,, 5000	
Winchester	11,100	,, 8,000	Gloucester	,, . . .	2300	} ,, 5000	
Ely	11,100	,, 5,500	Bristol	,, . . .	2300		
Worcester	6,500	,, 5,000	Hereford	,, . . .	2500	,, 4200	
St. Asaph	6,300	,, 4,200	Lichfield	,, . . .	3900	,, 4500	
Bath	5,900	,, 5,000	Lincoln	,, . . .	4500	,, 5000	
Norwich	5,400	,, 4,500	Llandaff	,, . . .	900	,, 4200	
Bangor	4,400	,, 4,200	Oxford	,, . . .	2600	,, 5000	
Man	2,500	,, 2,000	Peterborough	,, . . .	3100	,, 4500	
			Rochester	,, . . .	1400	,, 5000	
			Salisbury	,, . . .	3900	,, 5000	

Chichester, 4200*l.*, remains unaltered. Ripon, 4500*l.*, and Manchester, 4200*l.*, have been founded since. Thus only six sees suffered serious diminution, while not less than nine were under 3000*l.* a year in value (exclusive of Man).

† Gloucester and Bristol, Lincoln, Llandaff, Rochester, Ripon, and Manchester may be mentioned.

‡ These things are beginning to be forgotten by the public, so that it may be as well to recall how the poorer bishops eked out their incomes by other Crown preferments. The Bishops of Llandaff, Oxford, and Rochester, were respectively Deans of St. Paul's, Canterbury, and Worcester. The Bishops of Bristol, Chester, and Exeter, all held stalls at Durham. The Bishops of Gloucester and Lichfield held stalls at Westminster. The Bishop of Carlisle was a prebendary of St. Paul's. The Bishop of St. David's was Dean of Durham, and Dean of Brecon as well; besides other examples. We may refer our readers to a useful account of the 'Ecclesiastical Commissions Work' up to 1864, by the Rev G. H. Sumner, M.A. London, 1864. All this was swept away.

But the question still remained how to secure incomes: (1) for the new parishes growing up in the populous districts; (2) for the enormous number of the older parishes which used to be held in plurality with the richer. Here, again, the Church has to acknowledge services, without which it is difficult to imagine how she could ever have recovered her usefulness at all. The Ecclesiastical Commission may have made its mistakes, and it may have had to pay for them, too, at the cost of the Church's revenues; but it is only the barest justice to say that, without it, the Church Establishment must have perished through conspicuous incapacity for its work. But where was the money to come from? It could not, at least until their proceeds were considerably improved, be taken from episcopal property, since that, as has been already shown, was barely adequate to furnish forth a decent income for the whole episcopate. The only resource was to lay hands on the incomes of all sinecure benefices of whatever kind, to reduce the number of canonries in some nineteen of the cathedral and collegiate churches, and to apply the funds thus accruing to parochial purposes. Besides these, they also reduced the incomes of certain of the canonries, and suppressed the endowments of all the non-residentiary prebendaries; and it was expected that the sums thus realized would amount to 130,000*l.* a year. Practically this has been far more than trebled, partly owing to increased value of property, largely also through the abolition of the old wasteful system of leasing on lives. What an improvement is owing to this last cause may be inferred when, so long ago as 1864, an additional income of 60,000*l.* had been realized through it alone.* No doubt it would have been still better if, instead of suffering mere reduction† for the benefit of the parochial system, the cathedral system had been also reanimated by judicious legislation as to the principles on which its preferments were to be bestowed and the duties to be performed by its canons. But five-and-thirty years ago the uses of cathedrals were comparatively little thought of, and the whole current of Church reform set in the direction of episcopal and parochial re-arrangement. The Act in question was passed in 1840, and the Ecclesiastical Commission largely increased and reinforced by additional members. We cannot here stop to give the history of the Commission, of its work, and of the battles which it has

* See p. 22 of '*The Ecclesiastical Commission: its Rise and Progress.*' Rivingtons, 1864.

† Still, even then, mere reduction was not all. Llandaff Cathedral received, for the first time after the lapse of centuries, an endowment for its chapter, and facilities were given, for raising the incomes of archdeaconries, new ones being also founded, to 250*l.* a year.

had to fight, at one time almost for its existence. It is by its ultimate fruits that it must be judged, and in the case of the Commission it was the longer before its *direct* advantage was perceived, owing to the anticipation of its savings by Sir Robert Peel's Act, which constituted those numerous new districts commonly known as Peel parishes. In order to carry out these new endowments, the Commission had to borrow 600,000*l.* from Queen Anne's Bounty, which for a long time stopped the way for other distribution of its funds. This distribution has been made in the following ways:—

(1.) In augmenting existing benefices and in endowing new ones, in public patronage, either on the score of large population, or on that of property held by the Commissioners within the limits of such benefice.

(2.) In making grants towards endowments to meet other new benefactions from private sources.

(3.) In temporary grants for curates' stipends in the mining districts, and other temporary aids.

By November 1, 1862, the number of benefices augmented and endowed, new benefices included, was 1438. By November 1, 1872, this number had reached 3650. The pecuniary accounts standing as below:—

	£	s.	d.
(1.) Augmentations and Endowments from Church Property in the hands of the Commissioners, an annual sum of ..	436,345	7	8
(2.) Temporary Grants to Curates, &c., as above	20,000	0	0
	456,345	7	8
(3.) Cash value of Benefactions received by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from private sources as new Endowments 1,363,916 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> , producing annually	57,149	15	2
Gross results in Annual Increase to Parochial Endowments	513,495	2	10

Besides private gifts of land, tithes, &c., of which the value cannot be stated.

The result, then, on the whole has been that, by a harmonious and conjoint action of the Church and of the State, means have been readjusted to ends, impediments to her natural expansion—so far as her *parochial system* is concerned—have been removed, and the Church has been put, so far, more and more into a position to bring her zeal and energy to bear for the nation's benefit.

benefit. The question now comes, how has the Church used her opportunity? How far has she expanded her action now that impediments have been removed? Vast as have been the services of the Ecclesiastical Commission, it could no more stretch the ancient endowments to cover modern needs than it could make a village church serve the needs of our modern towns. All it could do, and that modern legislation has done admirably, has been to *facilitate* the voluntary operations of the Church herself—meaning by the Church that portion of the nation which is in earnest about Church work.

Let us, then, now strive to give some slight survey of the way in which the Church has striven, and is striving, to use her recovered opportunities of expansion and of usefulness. We say 'and is striving,' for in the course of our review it will become apparent that, *all along the line*, the last few years are showing a most striking advance upon previous years, in every single department. The forms and varieties of work, the liberality, the money offered, the men coming forward for ordination or for missionary duty, all show an increase. The voluntary zeal of past years, so far from having proved exhausting, has been gaining strength with action, and, unless our forecast is strangely wrong, we are standing on the verge of a fresh period of startling advance.

The combined action, then, of the Church and of the State has given us back a really parochial clergy and a genuinely diocesan episcopate. It has also untied her hands, so far as *parochial* extension goes. We shall say nothing of the labours of that clergy or of that episcopate. Our point is to show how the laity have supported their clergy since these reforms have come into action, to show how all this has given vent to an amount of lay zeal and lay support in all Church work and Church expansion, which far surpasses what could have been expected, and infinitely surpasses what is generally imagined. On a former page we showed that as soon as the Church of England was set free to divide her parishes and to build new churches, that moment she began to do it. It is now time that we should begin to go into details; and though it is impossible at present to give full particulars of all the sums thus spent,* we can make some approximation, thus:—

Up to the end of 1872 the total number of new churches built in the century was 3204, of churches entirely *re-built* 925; in all 4129, without counting restorations and enlargements: *i.e.*

* But we rejoice to see that Lord Hampton has moved for a return of all churches built or restored at a cost of over 500*l.* since 1840, and the total cost.

very nearly one-third of all the churches in the kingdom have been built this century. The restorations and enlargements are still more numerous, but we have not exact figures. Thus much for the numbers; next as to the cost. Of these 3204 entirely new churches, 1596, or nearly half, were aided by the Church Building Society; half were independent of it. Supposing, then, that the same rule holds regarding restorations, &c., then the whole church-building work, whether building or restoring, &c., will be just double what the Society has aided. Now, the total cost of all work aided by the Society is 9,000,000*l*. That is, the church building, &c., of the century has cost at least 18,000,000*l*. Observe, next, that 1150, or more than a quarter of these 4129 new or totally rebuilt churches, have been built in the single decade ending 1872, as against 96 in the *twenty* years ending 1820, which does not look as if the zeal were dying out. Then, again, this takes no account of *Mission Churches*, of which the Society has aided 168, without returning the total cost.

Next, let us take the work of parochial subdivision, scarcely less important than church-building. The existing number of parishes and parochial districts at the present moment is as nearly as possible 13,200. The Parliamentary Enquiry of 1831 returned it then as about 10,000.* Hence, for every *three* parishes of forty years ago we now have *four*. Neither does this give quite the full measure of the increase: for a union of small parishes has been going on alongside of the division of the large ones, and the reduction thus made has had to be filled up by the new ones. The number of new parishes formed under the Church Building and Ecclesiastical Commissions down to October 31, 1868, is returned as no fewer than 2216.† The successive Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners show a number of 375 more new parishes during the five years from October 31, 1868, to November 1, 1873, thus bringing up the total to 2591. Now, taking into account the large numbers of subdivisions otherwise effected, but of which information is less exact,‡ the increase

* We have already stated that in the early part of the century the number was given as about 10,700. The discrepancy is probably due to the earlier number having included all manner of chapels, chapels of ease, school, college, and gaol chapels, reckoning every place where service had to be performed as if it were a parish. The return of 1831 is unquestionable.

† Parliamentary Return ordered to be printed August 9 and 10, 1870.

‡ The Parliamentary Return above quoted gives also a large number of Diocesan Returns of new parishes formed irrespective of the 2216. But four dioceses, Canterbury, London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, made no return. The cases of *union of benefices* returned in the remaining dioceses were 123.

above stated is certainly not exaggerated. Certainly the addition to our parishes must be considered over 3000. And every additional parish involves voluntary outlay for church, and schools, and parsonage, and all the numberless *et cæteras* of daily parochial expenditure.

It is less easy to state with anything like completeness the amount of private liberality which has come into play for the endowment of all these new livings. What has come from the re-arrangement and better husbanding of Church property has been already stated. But it may not be amiss to repeat that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners acknowledge the receipt of no less a capital sum than 1,653,446*l.* from private benefactions for endowment up to October 31, 1873, of which not less than 360,000*l.* was contributed in the last three years. *In this one form alone*, therefore, the facilities for church extension are now eliciting new endowments at the rate of 120,000*l.* a year. And we have already stated that the number of parsonages is now 11,000, against 5900 forty years ago; so that, to say nothing of rebuilt parsonages, we have a clear addition of 5100 new ones. But, after all, the cost of church-building, house-building, and maintenance of clergy, is but an item in the vast mass of voluntary effort which has been going on and is going on increasingly among us. It gets talked of most, and written about most, as all first steps do in the inception of a new enterprise. But we must also remember that every new parish and every newly-settled incumbent, becomes a new centre of work and a new channel opened through which the ever-ready zeal of the active portion of our Church laity begins to act as soon as you give it scope. Take what department you please, and you find the same continually-increasing outlay. If you look to education, the National Society alone has dispensed *a million* in the last sixty years, involving an outlay of at least twelve times as much in actual capital from other sources. The schools in union with it number 14,000. Through, or in connection with it, the Church has founded *six-and-twenty* Training Colleges for Teachers; St. Mark's College alone has cost from 60,000*l.* to 70,000*l.*; that at Culham, in the diocese of Oxford, nearly 20,000*l.*, and others in proportion. In one year alone, the year 1872, the amount subscribed to build Church of England schools was 367,227*l.*, as contrasted with 22,000*l.* from Dissenting sources. The following figures are taken from the Education Report of the Privy Council for 1873, and will at once show to whom the country is indebted for the means of elementary education during the last thirty years:—

FROM

FROM 1839 TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1872.

ENGLAND AND WALES.	Subscribed.	Parliamentary Grant.
For building Church of England Schools'	£3,585,164	£1,356,487
British and Foreign Schools	220,033	106,120
Wesleyan Schools	151,942	81,317
Roman Catholic Schools	99,650	42,167

But here, again, huge as this capital of three and a half millions of voluntary subscriptions sunk in school buildings may seem, the annual voluntary subscriptions for their maintenance are to the full as striking. Quoting again from the same Report, the annual subscriptions of Churchmen reach the amount of 389,769*l.*, against Dissenting subscriptions of 84,771*l.* It would take a capital of more than eleven millions at 3½ per cent. to produce this—be it observed—*increasing* income. Perhaps nothing has done more to satisfy the public mind of the patriotism, the freedom from mere sectarian feeling and party spirit on the part of Churchmen, than their course with regard to the now famous Education Bill of Mr. Forster. This Act has not merely interfered with their freedom in managing their own schools, but has imposed two considerable items of expense upon their voluntary zeal. First, they have had to organize a costly system of inspection and examination of all parish schools and Church training colleges as regards their religious teaching. Next, the lavish salaries offered to teachers by the School Boards, who have other people's money to draw on, has raised, and will raise, the cost of teaching. Yet the Church has been at the trouble and expense of training the teachers. Twenty-five Church inspectors are now maintained for the religious inspection* of elementary schools (besides many voluntary helpers) at various stipends, mostly we think from 300*l.* to 400*l.* a year. The following statement of the National Society's income (exclusive of legacies and dividends) for the last three years, will be some measure of the still increasing cost of education to the liberality of Churchmen :—

1871	..	..	..	..	..	£10,856
1872	..	..	..	..	..	14,173
1873	..	..	..	..	..	17,835 •

* The Christian Knowledge Society has aided in the school building of the two last years, in the work of religious examination in training colleges, and in aiding the colleges to train additional teachers by grants of more than 11,000*l.* It also aids largely in Missionary and Colonial work. We observe with regret that its income remains more nearly stationary than that of any other society.

The

The importance of the subject of education has led us a little aside from our main line, in pursuance of which we ought at once to have passed from the increase of churches and parishes to the increase of clergy, to which we now return.

In 1801 we find the number of clergy stated at 10,307. We have no means of verifying this estimate. But in 1841 we begin with accurate official returns. In that year we find the number to have been 14,613. In 1871 it had grown to 20,694, an increase of over 6000, and therefore nearly doubling the additional number of parishes. Of these, 19,043 are engaged in parochial work. In round numbers, 13,000 are incumbents * and 600 are assistant curates. Forty years ago the number of assistant curates was 5230,† but of these no fewer than 4224 were employed by non-resident incumbents, holding other preferment. Deduct this from the then number of parishes—about 10,000—and 5776 becomes the very outside of the number of incumbents throughout the country only thirty years ago. We doubt if it could be more than 5500, for many an incumbent would hold two livings without a curate. Thus, then, the course of recent re-arrangement has more than doubled the number of incumbents and slightly increased that of the curates. This exactly illustrates our statement that the work of re-adjustment has been to restore and extend a genuine parochial clergy. Our figures then stand thus:—

	1841.	1871.
Incumbents	5,776	13,043
Curates	5,230	6,000
Total Parochial Clergy	11,006	19,043
Add Clergy unattached ..	3,607	1,651
Total numbers of Clergy	14,613	20,694

We see, then, two considerable changes effected,—*first*, a reduction in the numbers of ‘clergy unattached’ from 3607 ‡ to 1651, so that the effective increase in the ‘working’ parochial clergy

* Slightly under the number of parishes. A few pluralities survive, chiefly in country towns with many small parishes and smaller endowments. Chichester, Exeter, Gloucester, Norwich, furnish examples.

† Parliamentary Returns.

‡ May not this large proportion of clergymen at ease do something to account for the cry about the working as against the non-working clergy, which we all remember? For all these, being clergy, would popularly be supposed to be in the receipt of ecclesiastical incomes. The present number of clergy unattached is no more than will allow for school and college clergy and those disabled by sickness, age, &c. The cathedral clergy are comparatively few: 31 deans and 127 canons, of whom many are included in the ranks of effective parochial clergy as well.

is 8000, though the gross increase is only 6000:—*next*, that the old endowments have been stretched to carry 7224 more incumbents, and nearly 800 more curates, than forty years ago. The question is, how can the old endowments carry them? The answer is, that *they unquestionably don't*. On a former page we showed that the whole additions out of Church property made to the incomes of the parochial clergy have amounted to no more than the, in itself large, sum of 436,345*l.* But this is spread over 3650 benefices; not 120*l.* a year a-piece. And we have 8000 more parochial clergy for it—not 55*l.* a year a-piece. The fact is that after all the 'augmentations' we have still 5573 livings not exceeding 200*l.* a year in value, and no fewer than 8752 not exceeding 300*l.* a year. The question, therefore, arises—how do all these clergy get supported? The answer is threefold:

(1.) The increased number of livings opened to the clergy by the creation of new livings (say 3000) and by the abolition of pluralities (say 4000) has induced vastly more laymen of some private means to seek Holy Orders than otherwise would have done so. This is practically a supplementary endowment. To hear some people talk you would imagine they thought clergymen were born ready ordained, whereas each clergyman was a layman to start with. Such an organization of Church matters as leads laymen of some private means to enter Holy Orders is perhaps the readiest, as it is unquestionably the largest, form of obtaining supplementary endowments from the laity.* The course of church adjustment and extension of the last forty years has worked enormously in this direction.

(2.) New endowments have been given by the laity since there has been scope for this form of liberality, but its extent could only be fully ascertained through a Parliamentary Return. It is to be hoped that as Lord Hampton has moved for a return of church-building gifts, so some one else will move for this. We have already stated that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have received cash-benefactions which produce 57,149*l.* per annum, besides much more in land and tithes, and that they have had to refuse large offers for want of more funds to meet them with.

(3.) The assistance rendered to the parochial incumbents by the

* This is a remark of very wide application indeed. It touches not only such matters of organization as we speak of, but the general administration of the Church, and even the personal administration of the heads of the Church. A really painstaking and genial bishop is not only the best recruiting-sergeant for the Church militant, but he adds to its sinews of war in attracting clergy who bring with them such 'supplementary endowments' as we speak of. ●

laity in paying curates' stipends. While the number of assistant curates has risen slowly, we observe that their stipends have risen largely. In 1836 the Parliamentary Return from which we quote so often shows the average stipend of the 5230 assistant curates of that day to have been 81*l.* 4*s.* An examination of the advertisements * in the 'Ecclesiastical Gazette' shows the change during the last forty years to have been as follows:—

			£	s.	d.
Average stipend in 1843 was	..	..	82	2	10
,, 1853	,,	..	79	0	0
,, 1863	,,	..	97	10	0
,, 1873	,,	..	129	5	8

Now where does this money come from? The amount is serious. Fix the average somewhat lower—say 125*l.*—for probably the worst paid curacies do not get advertised: take the number of curates at 5800—again below the mark—and yet you have 725,000*l.* as the gross curate income. It *could* not all come out of the benefices, unless every incumbent was a man of considerable means: neither does it. About 400,000*l.* is believed to be paid by incumbents, and the rest, 375,000*l.*, is the least which can be taken as coming from lay sources. So that here we have another form of genuine supplementary endowment resulting from the restoration of the parochial system by abolishing pluralities. Prior to 1836 this had no existence. The present number of incumbents alone is more by 2000 than the whole staff of parochial clergy, incumbents and curates together, of forty years ago; and thus, with more work doing and more men to do it, there comes in voluntary help to pay for it. And it is a *growing* form of help as well; growing, as all these forms of lay supplements to our endowments are. That excellent institution, the Additional Curates' Society,† raises annually (not counting dividends or legacies) over 50,000*l.*; and last year, 1873, the amount reached 55,280*l.*, an increase of 5,079*l.* over 1872, itself an increase over 1871. The Pastoral Aid Society last year raised 58,955*l.*, including an increase of

* See 'The Church and her Curates,' p. 96.

† The accounts of this society illustrate so strikingly our view of the growing nature of all these forms of volunteer help which our system now calls in to play that we make the following abstract. The society was established in 1837, just when pluralities were abolished; and the amounts expended *through its agency alone*, in employing additional curates, have been as under:—

From 1837 to 1857, 20 years	..	£369,868	annual average	£18,493
,, 1857 to 1867, 10 years	..	506,698	,,	25,349
,, 1867 to 1873, 6 years	..	327,266	,,	54,544
Total		..	£1,203,832	

8240*l.* in its legacies, and a donation of 4000*l.* as a memorial of a deceased benefactor.

But here a still more vital question arises as to whether the increase in our clergy can be maintained, and, if so, of the same calibre as before. Upon a question like this, facts alone can be trusted. Personal opinion, unless you are well assured of the knowledge and sound judgment of the person, goes for little. It has been the fashion to speak despondingly on these heads: to speak (1) as if the clergy supply were drying up; (2) as if the calibre of the men were falling off. As to the first, we subjoin the following figures from the Report* of Canon Gregory's Committee of Convocation on Clergy Supply. He gives the average annual number of deacons ordained during the following periods as under:—

1834—1843	..	..	..	..	..	535
1844—1853	..	..	..	..	..	665
1854—1863	..	..	..	..	..	600
1863—1872	..	..	..	..	..	595

Somewhat discouraging, perhaps, at first sight. But a year has gone by since this Report was presented, and with it a year's ordinations. We have gone carefully through the returns in the 'Ecclesiastical Gazette,' and find that for 1873 the number of newly ordained deacons was 630; so that at all events we have a number exceeding the average of the last twenty years, if not equal to that of the now somewhat distant decade of 1844—1853. But that was the time when the *abolition of pluralities* was creating the demand for clergy most urgently. Since then there has only been such additional demand for clergy as the normal expansion of our system under present circumstances leads to, and at the existing moment demand and supply appear to be increasing. Again, there is a great cry about the number of Literates admitted to Holy Orders; but it is enormously exaggerated. We have not the full statistics of past years on this point, but in 1873 the number of Literates was only 26 out of the 630. The whole number stood as under:—

Graduates of the ancient Universities	..	..	..	..
King's College, London; Theological Colleges, &c.	..	..	..	..
Literates	..	..	..	..

630

Now during the nine years last passed, 1864—1872, the average number of graduates, according to Canon Gregory's

* Preliminary Report presented to both Convocations, May 5, 1873.

figures,

figures, was 434, or 23 per annum less than in 1873; while in the ten preceding years, 1854–63, it was but three more, or 460.* Hence our last year's returns of graduates ordained is higher than the average of the previous nineteen years. Certainly present statistics are not discouraging, although a year or two back some uneasiness was felt. But the fact is, that as things now stand, clergy supply is very much a question of—we will not say demand, but of *openings*. Open spheres for work, and such is the existing condition of the Church, that men will be found to come forward for it, unless, indeed, there is some exceptional discouragement affecting the neighbourhood. Some of the dreariest parts of East London can get curates easily enough. So could Leeds, under Dr. Hook and his successors. If there were such a thing in the Church of England as a central body, like the Wesleyan Conference, to take counsel for the future, and to look ahead with the forethought which a business firm has to use in adapting its operations to changing circumstances, then it would be fully seen that what wants most looking to is the wisest way of devising openings† for work, making these openings abundantly known, and heartily encouraging the workers. The experience of the last thirty years shows plainly enough that men and money will pour in where scope and encouragement are given.

But the Church of England is not limited to the dioceses of England and Wales; and in writing of its existing 'state' it would be unpardonable not to take some notice, however brief, of the contemporaneous expansion of its work beyond the seas. It was in 1840—just when the great *start* was beginning here at home—that Bishop Blomfield's memorable letter led to the establishment of the Colonial Bishops' Council.‡ There were then ten Colonial bishoprics, five wholly, others partially, dependent on State funds. There are now *sixty*, of which ten are strictly missionary, and of which no less than *seven* have been added within the last few months. It has been truly said that their roll is in itself a geographical lesson, and we wonder

* The variety in previous training which these figures show with regard to the newly ordained is far from a disadvantage to the work of the Church. On this head we would specially recommend to our readers' notice Canon Ashwell's paper on 'Clergy Supply,' read at the Bath Church Congress, 1873.

† Something of this may be seen in the experience of the Bishop of London's Fund, which has already raised an amount of 494,391l.

‡ This Council has raised funds for the support of Colonial bishops ever since 1840. It has now *invested* as endowments—

In England	..	..	£142,732
In the Colonies	..	..	118,110
Total	..	..	£260,842

how many of our readers could indicate the whereabouts of Algoma and Moosonee, Athabasca and Saskatchewan.* Adverting to the growth of this Colonial and Missionary Church, we should state that the ten bishoprics of 1840 had grown to thirty-five by 1864, an addition of *five-and-twenty*, averaging one per annum; but that the last ten years have added as many as the whole five-and-twenty years preceding, while seven (as above stated) have been founded the last few months. So also with the income of the old and valued Propagation Society; *that*, too, has shared the general expansion of the last few years.* Twenty years ago, *i.e.* in 1854, its subscription income (exclusive of dividends, legacies, and special funds) was 43,675*l.* In 1871 it was 64,793*l.*; in 1872, 73,394*l.*; last year, 75,067*l.* Under the head of *Special Funds* we have two anonymous annual subscriptions, one of 1000*l.* a year, the other of 500*l.* a year, devoted to China and Japan. These two subscriptions commenced in 1873. This society alone maintains, in whole or in part, 484 clergy, of whom 45 are native Indians, and 822 catechists and lay teachers, mostly natives. In almost all the Colonial dioceses theological colleges are established. A few are of old standing, but most of them date within the last thirty years.† Some are aided from home by the S. P. G. or the C. M. S. Others go alone. Indeed, it is to be noted how much the Colonial Church has during the last few years been passing into independence, and itself becoming the starting-point of new expansion. The Melanesian Mission, presided over by the lamented Bishop Patteson, was supported largely by Australia and New Zealand. The Canadian Church provides for the extension of its own episcopate, and has founded the sees of Huron, Ontario, and Algoma; while the West Indian island of Trinidad at once provided for a bishop to itself as soon as disestablishment befel Barbados and left the Church free to arrange its affairs according to its needs. But perhaps the most striking testimony we could quote is that in the Indian Blue-

* The Church Missionary Society also has just held its annual meeting, and we observe that it returns its subscription income as 133,652*l.* Its legacies reach the large sum of 33,509*l.* and benefactions that of 29,364*l.* Altogether its year's income reaches 196,525*l.*, being 36,855*l.* more than in 1872.

† A list here—we believe fairly complete—may be interesting. Codrington College, Barbados; Bishop's College, Calcutta; Windsor, in Nova Scotia, are of old standing. Recent colleges are, Lennoxville, in Quebec; the College at Fredericton; Trinity College, Toronto; Huron: Bishop Ashton Oxenden's New College at Montreal; St. John's, Newfoundland; a theological college in Rupert's Land, of which the new Bishop of Saskatchewan was Warden; Moore College, Sydney; the Kaffir College at Capetown; another at Grahamstown, for training native clergy and catechists, which is very successful.

book of last year, which has been reprinted by the S. P. G., and may be had for 3*d.* There the native Church has 381 native clergy, besides 600 missionaries of various Christian bodies, and the Indian Government bears the most emphatic testimony to the *political* importance of the 'loyalty' and 'solid principle' of the Christian portion of the population, as 'greatly influencing the communities of which they form a part,' so that

'The Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by these 600 Missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell.'

Brief as it is, the foregoing must suffice to illustrate how the facilities for freer expansion have been met by the general Church public acting on the large scale and through the public organizations specified. But around these more general movements there has been what we may call a *fringe* of separate and more individual undertakings, many of them so remarkable, so valuable in their action, and at the same time so distinctly connected with the general spirit of endeavour which has been stimulated, that some few specimens—merely as specimens—must be given.

We have seen that as soon as the Church's parochial system began to revive, the missionary spirit began to revive as well, and that in 1840 the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund commenced. This was followed in 1848 by the magnificent foundation—mainly due to the liberality of Mr. Beresford Hope, now M.P. for Cambridge University, and to the exertions of Mr. Edward Coleridge, now Fellow of Eton—of St. Augustine's College for the training of missionary clergy. Probably few of our readers are unacquainted with the place or with its history, but we refer to it not merely as an act of conspicuous munificence and usefulness, guided by a taste and feeling as rare as the generosity, but in its historic connection with the course of Church expansion of which we treat. And round this central point there has grown up a whole system of further endowments, as well as of local associations for finding and aiding fitting students, together with a college at Warminster for their earlier education.*

Another

* The growth of St. Augustine's is worth noticing, and the more because it has gone on so quietly, with little or nothing said. The site and ancient buildings having

Another enterprise, almost personal in its origin, but which has now grown into nearly national importance, was at this time just in the bud. We mean Mr. (now Canon) Woodard's gigantic—we can use no smaller word—system of schools for extending to the lower middle classes that form of education which, under the appellation of 'public school education,' has done so much to form the character of the higher classes of Englishmen. Most travellers by the railway line between Brighton and Worthing know the vast pile of buildings which crown the brow of the low hills looking down on the broad shallow river which the line crosses near Shoreham. This is the Lancing School, unfinished, for it is planned on a scale which must yet take years to complete; but it has been long at work; it has already cost 80,000*l.*, of which the great hall has taken more than 10,000*l.*, though unfinished still. St. John's, Hurstpierpoint, with its hundreds of boys and chapel of almost cathedral dimensions though simple form, has cost as much. Ardingly, a school to hold a thousand boys, the only one of all to which the public has been asked to contribute, has already cost near 50,000*l.* On the new school now rising at Denstone for the Midland counties some 50,000*l.* worth of work has been already done; and, including the outlay on two allied schools for girls, the mere cost of buildings has reached nearly if not quite 300,000*l.*, while something like endowment is accumulating in the shape of from 450 to 500 acres of land, besides some 3000*l.* in the funds. Surely a grand specimen of what zeal and perseverance can effect.

Neither should the local exertions for the restoration of our cathedrals, in some cases, as at Bristol, almost depending on one or two individuals, be forgotten. We are not compiling a Blue-book. We are only giving such examples as our own personal acquaintance furnishes of the recent and now more than ever-spreading spirit of self-extension and, practically, self-endow-

having been a separate gift, and its buildings having cost 30,000*l.*, its endowments in 1872 stood at 23,000*l.* 3 per Cents., or £690 per annum.

By 1874 they have grown to 31,400 <i>l.</i> 3 per Cents.	..	942	„
Land to the value of	..	250	„
Another investment	..	100	„
Ditto for Oriental Reader ..	..	100	„

In all £1392

Further, in 1852 its endowments for exhibitions stood at 5340*l.* 3 per Cents., or 160*l.* per annum. Since then further endowments for the like purposes have been made to the amount of 6080*l.* 3 per Cents., or 182*l.* more; besides an income derived from the local associations of 600*l.* a year for St. Augustine's, and of 400*l.* a year for the College at Warminster, and a few miscellaneous items amounting to about 1500*l.*, besides 2800*l.* for extension of buildings.

The number of clergy and catechists sent out has been over 200.

ment,

ment, which marks the Church of England of to-day. If, therefore, any of our own readers should complain of omissions, let us say once for all that we do not pretend to completeness. It was but the other day that Worcester was re-opened after restoration at a cost of over 100,000*l.* Llandaff, which had lain in ruins, we may say for centuries, has risen again, at a cost of 30,000*l.*, of which all but 5000*l.* was voluntary subscription. Salisbury is spending 40,000*l.* in addition to 10,000*l.* from the Ecclesiastical Commission. Bristol is spending 55,000*l.* on the building of its nave and two western steeples, which, because unsafe, were simply pulled down and carted away some three hundred years ago; so that for three centuries there have been no nave or western towers, at all. Here *all* is voluntary subscription. Chichester spire has been rebuilt, and the cathedral generally restored, at a cost of over 50,000*l.* At Chester the county has given 45,000*l.*, aided by the Commissioners' 15,000*l.*, where it is worth notice that it has been owing to the previous restoration of the cathedral to practical usefulness, that funds for its architectural restoration were forthcoming. Rochester, small but extremely interesting, and one of the earliest three of our English cathedrals, has spent 13,000*l.*, and about 17,000*l.* more is now being raised without the Commissioners' help. And in the farthest West, the most unique of all, far-off St. David's, is once more beginning to show its quaint and singular beauty. But it is far off and little known, otherwise the zealous efforts of those concerned would ere now have completed their undertaking.* As it is, about 15,000*l.* has been raised in the district and 10,000*l.* given by Commissioners. Ely, the glory of the rich fen country, has spent at least 70,000*l.* from its own and its neighbourhood's resources; while Exeter will have spent at least 50,000*l.* before the works now in progress are completed. The restoration of Hereford has cost over 40,000*l.* unaided by the Commission. Without going farther, the specimens we have quoted run up to a total of not far short of 400,000*l.* of voluntary gifts, either already spent or now being spent upon the fabrics, with only very small further help from the Commission.

Lastly, to turn to the last feature we shall dwell upon—the revived use of the Offertory. A few years ago, we doubt if any article on Church progress was likely to have included the offertory as one of the forms of supplementary endowment to which the expansion of our Church system might look for

* At St. David's the work of restoring the fabric presented peculiar difficulties as well. Sir Gilbert Scott's Reports (Harrison, St. Martin's Lane, London) read almost like a romance.

serious support. Even now we doubt if its importance or its magnitude is at all adequately appreciated.* It is not everywhere that it can be depended upon equally. Nowhere would it be safe to depend upon it exclusively. But in many places it works so successfully in *aid* of endowments, that when we are reckoning up the various forms of help to be counted upon in the extension of the Church and opening up new spheres of work, it ought not to be lost sight of. To say the least, viewed as an illustration of how the rising zeal of the laity has met the growing industry of the clergy, the increase of offertory-income of the last few years is most remarkable. It has only been within a few days of printing this Article that it has been suggested to us to touch on this department of lay aid to Church endowments. We have had, therefore, but small time to gather facts. In many cases answers have been delayed. But it is something to find that from *twelve* churches in large towns, the aggregate offertory of 1873 amounted to a little more than 40,000*l.*, whereas the aggregate endowment of the benefices was only 1850*l.* Six of the twelve are London churches, three in distinctively wealthy localities, the other three in neighbourhoods of ordinary suburban means. The other six are in well-to-do provincial towns. As specimens of a different class, we have taken one of the Shoreditch churches, and that in the very poorest part of that most miserably indigent neighbourhood, and it returns its offertory (we quote from printed returns in all cases) at 522*l.*; a church among the working men at Bradford, the traditional headquarters of Dissent, which stands at 776*l.*; and St. Hilda's, South Shields, which has grown from 240*l.* in 1864 to 509*l.* in 1873-4:—specimen cases each of these, which could be multiplied indefinitely from every quarter of the kingdom.

Now, what we say is,—contrast all this, we will not say with *sixty* years ago, when Sydney Smith was denouncing the hide-bound condition of the Church, which crushed its expansion exactly where most needed;—we will not say *forty* years ago, when parochial subdivision was not yet taken in hand in earnest;—but twenty, or even ten, years back, when there had scarcely been time for the restored means of expansion to begin to tell. And remember that we are only now beginning to see the results of bringing the work and the workers together; and

* Here, again, as in nearly every department of Church work, we suffer for want of a duly authorised central body, acting with constitutional powers, authorised to gather information, to ascertain the strong and the weak points of our work, and advise, or act, accordingly.

that these are only examples of the way in which, when the Church *does* begin to occupy new ground, and to try to do her duty, new means for supporting her efforts are sure to flow in as well.

Surely, then, it must be clear from this slight survey that, in all the great departments of practical pastoral work, there has not merely been a vast revival of clerical energy, but of most effectual support from that portion of the laity which is brought in contact with the energies of the clergy. Forty years ago there was but little work doing, and the clergy were decidedly unpopular. Things are changed now, and all that is gone. And yet Church matters are uneasy. But what we have to notice is that the *malaise* affects a different region of Church work altogether. It is not so much the work as the administration of the work which needs adjustment now: the administration of the system which has developed so much life. There is every bit as much uneasiness about Church administration now as there was about Church stagnation when Sydney Smith was declaring it to be the fate of Establishments to die of dignity. A survey of the 'state of the Church' would be incomplete and misleading which should fail to take some account of the extraordinary ferment in the midst of which we write.

To any one who will look coolly at it, and not turn giddy as the whirlpool of opinion spins around him, the situation is full of interest. It is not without its elements of risk; but it is a crisis which, in one shape or another, we must have come to in the natural course of Church expansion; and we must say that, to our minds, it presents more elements of hope than of fear. Resolve it into its elements, and the present clamour, after all, comes down to this—to a demand for further organisation and for real administration; to a demand for a central organisation and administration on the part of the Law and of the Bishops, as real and as personal as the revived activities we see; to a demand also for an adjustment of the laws by which the Church is (or should be) governed, to the new state of things under which the Church is working. Sixty years ago the Church was hide-bound everywhere. The demand arose that she should be set free, to go where she was wanted, and occupy the waste places of the land. Those restrictions were removed, Church and State happily working together; and though the work is as yet not one quarter done, we begin to see the fruits.*

But

* The Diocese of Peterborough has just made a remarkable return of the voluntary contributions for Endowments, Church Building, and Schools during the last thirty years. "Large as the amount is, the most noticeable fact is that the contribu-
tions

But the reviving energies which have risen to the occasion, spent as they have been upon *one* department of the Church's work, have of necessity produced a recovery which is as yet but partial and one-sided. Hence the very recovery which they have wrought has brought out other needs into view which were not visible before. Clear away the surroundings of party cries and ephemeral excitements, and it is plain that, sooner or later, such a demand as we speak of was simply inevitable. In the vast development of energy, lay as well as clerical, new forms of work have been struck out, new agencies brought into play, services have been indefinitely multiplied, and therefore inevitably varied. And this has been done, not in consequence of any plan from an ecclesiastical Moltke, not in pursuance of orders from headquarters, but sporadically and *pro re natá*, by methods varying both with the locality, and with what was thought suited to the people, whether it was amid the refinements of Belgravia, the slums of Shoreditch, the workmen of a railway town, or the men of business of a London suburb. It has been as if each regiment in an extended battle had developed its own strategy and tactics in face of the enemy as best it could, depending for unity of design upon the general knowledge each had of the art of war, rather than upon direct and central orders. Of course, such a state of things could not go on for ever. The central administration must be brought into a condition of corresponding efficacy, or the Church becomes a congeries of atoms, and not an organised body at all.

Then in the case of the Church of England you have this further complication that, when you try to put in motion her ancient rules, you find them as antiquated and as hard to use as her parochial system was sixty years ago. The Great Frederick's rules of war would not have hampered the Prussians more if they had been tied to them in 1870. This is no unfair statement. Our Rubrics are at least two centuries old, much of them far older, to say nothing of our antiquated modes of legal procedure. Yet we are compelled to treat these rubrics as nearly our whole Statute Law for the present day. Now every lawyer knows that however carefully drawn Statute Law may be, it is dangerous to interpret and apply it without regard to the Common Law. But in the case before us these rubrics, which

tions of the *last ten* years are more than those of all the twenty years preceding. The figures are:—

1844-54	. . .	£238,722	}	£526,110.
1854-64	. . .	287,388		

1864-74	. . .	£ 543,172.
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we have to treat as Statute Law never pretended, when drawn up, to anything like the measure of self-completeness which ordinary Statute Law aims at. People forget that our rubrical system (if you can call it a system) initiated nothing, but simply modified what went before. This is why it is so fragmentary. Had our rubrics been initiating anything, they would have been fully descriptive and self-explanatory. Being what they were in their formation, their application as Statute Law now requires an altogether uncommon acquaintance with the corresponding Common Law. But the 'Common Law' in this case means the customs and observances present to the minds of those who drew up the rubrics—the observances familiar to the practice of those who first were to obey them—*i. e.*, men who, for the most part, were in priest's orders when Wolsey was Archbishop! Can anything more be wanted to explain our present dead-lock? No doubt the antiquarian part of the subject has received a good deal of attention lately, though not enough, as it would seem, to save our highest courts from incompatible decisions. It was not until the Church was all but stifled for want of means for parochial expansion that the needed facilities were given. In like manner it is not until the Church is all but shattered by Ritual disturbance that the subjects of her law and its administration receive serious and practical attention. But the excitements of the present may well be borne if they, in their turn, lead to our rubrical system and our legal procedure being rendered simple, intelligible, and workable. For it is not merely the simplification of procedure that is wanted. The controversy which has risen about the Archbishop's Bill must, we should imagine, have settled that question in the minds of all men capable of looking beyond the moment. We are distinctly of opinion that, had the law been clear, the existing troubles need never have arisen. The 'Quarterly Review' is not a clerical organ, and it is not our business to write a nineteenth century version of Pecock's 'Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy.' But, seeing how much the clergy have been saying for themselves the last two months, we have been astonished above measure that no one of them has had the wit to lay the blame where we believe it truly lies—*i. e.* on the real ambiguities which exist. We suppose that each section of them is so satisfied with the correctness of its own interpretation that, in its eagerness, this point—obvious enough to a looker-on—has been overlooked. It is this, no doubt, which has often made bishops unwilling to interfere with clergy of whose *bona fides* they were assured, and who were popular with their laity, even though they (the bishops)

bishops) might doubt their ritual accuracy. But what next? The door of winked-at diversity thus opened, where were you to stop? Men whose *bona fides* was less unquestionable had their views also how much the rubrics might be stretched to cover. Others who loved novelty for its own sake, or who found sensation 'draw,' took advantage of the situation; and though we are assured by good authorities that their actual number is comparatively small, still there have been instances enough of thoroughly fantastic and unauthorised ceremonial to call for remedial measures. Then when the measures are wanted, the administration of the law is as unworkable as the rubrics are ambiguous, and the Archbishops come to Parliament to mend it. We do not propose to examine their Bill, or the very different measure which, with their concurrence, has now left the Lords and come before the Commons. Whatever its fate for this particular Session may be, it will certainly have rendered thus much service to the Church—it will have drawn public attention in the most effectual manner to the need there is of a thorough readjustment of the whole Church system in the particulars now touched on. The Archbishop has opened up wider questions than that of mere procedure, and more questions, too, than we have yet touched on. Asking, as he had good right to do, for simpler measures of enforcement, he has forced it on people's consciousness that the law is in no condition to be enforced; and the question next arises, by whom is it to be adjusted? The two Houses of Parliament are certainly not made up of experts in this branch of legislation, and they are thoroughly indisposed to add it to their already unmanageable mass of work. And so we are forced back upon what has lain at the root of all the mischief,—namely, that alone of all the great institutions of the country the Church of England has had no continuously acting organ by which to adjust herself to the needs which changing times must bring upon every living and working society of men. That such 'organ' should be exclusively clerical we do not think that any one would assert. That it should be composed exclusively of laymen would not seem more reasonable. A combination of the two is the sole remaining method. But in whatever form, or by whatever organisation, the means of evoking a continuously acting Council—call it Convocation, Conference, or what you please—upon Church matters must now become the question of the day. The House of Lords' debates have already pointed in this direction, both in what was said by the Archbishop and Lord Cairns about issuing letters of business to Convocation and in the Bill which was introduced by the
Bishop

Bishop of London and read a first time at once. But Convocation itself will want reforming to be a genuine representation of the parochial clergy, whose importance has altogether outgrown the number of seats at present assigned to them. And then there must be also some device whereby the laity may be organically able to hold communications with the representatives of the clergy. There is work enough cut out here for the wisest heads and the most patriotic minds, both of laity and clergy, for some time to come. We have little doubt but that, with that practical instinct which belongs to Englishmen, they will do it well.

And here we might well pause, but that we wish to enforce once more, even at the risk of seeming tedious, what we conceive to be the true aspect of the existing state of things. There are climacterics in the lifetimes of all living institutions as well as in those of living bodies. Our own civil history has been full of them. The present century has seen more than one, and that in each of the two chief departments of modern English energy—the political and the commercial. In each case the uneasiness all but reached the breaking point before relief was given. Before the first Reform Bill we had the ‘Times’ discussing at what point a people would become justified in armed resistance to authority. It was only the Irish famine which finally broke down the ancient Corn Laws. It is our distinct belief the present is a corresponding climacteric in the history of the revived Church of England as those were in England’s commercial and political development. It is our distinct belief that without some development of her central organisation, that career of usefulness on which we have seen her enter will be comparatively stunted and cut short. Her present *malaise* is but the symptom calling attention to the underlying need. Look for one moment at the mass of things which require the best experience alike of our best laity and clergy to advise upon them.

First of all there is the grave and startling fact that, in spite of all that has yet been done, and no one can say that we underrate it, our Church extension is but a beginning of what it ought to be where it is most wanted. Again we must revert to figures, and urge them upon the notice of all statesmen of whatever politics. There is no statesman, be his party politics what they may, who will underrate the value of an Established clergy as a moral police.” Certainly the behaviour of the Lancashire workmen during the cotton famine, as contrasted with the troubles of 1843, bore witness to the effects of the improved education and increased Church work of the interval. Now, as things stand at present,

present, our urban population, counting only what the Registrar-General calls *large* towns, is about 15,500,000 against 7,500,000 in small towns and the rural districts. Yet for these fifteen millions we have at present only 3000 parishes, while there are more than 10,000 parishes for the seven millions of the rural population. The result is that for 15,500,000 townsfolk you have 5800 clergy, counting incumbents and curates, with endowments reaching only 750,000*l.*, while for the 7,500,000 of country-folk you have over 13,200 incumbents and curates, with 2,700,000*l.* of endowment. Will it do to leave Church extension to hap-hazard any longer? The Ecclesiastical Commission cannot go on for ever with its augmentations from improved values of property, of which there is not much more to fall into its hands. With a central board—a sort of cabinet for the preparation of measures—composed of laymen and of representatives of Convocation, often meeting for consultation, these things would not be read merely as bits of dry statistics and then forgotten as being some one else's business. They would be translated into their living meaning, would be recognised as of national concern, and steps would be proposed against the evil day when the masses may need some other power than force for their control. There is zeal enough in England to fill any gap if only the need is pointed out by duly constituted authority. And selected representatives of a reformed Convocation acting with, say a Committee of Privy Council for ecclesiastical purposes, would have this weight. We say *representatives* of Convocation advisedly, for Convocation will need a kind of standing committee to prepare its work.

Again, look at another aspect of the unsatisfactory distribution of the clergy. In the pleasant Southern dioceses, with which our educated gentry are best acquainted, there is no lack of clergy. In the nine Southern dioceses specified below* we have under six millions and a half of population to a little over seven thousand clergy. In the six Northern dioceses specified below there are considerably over eight millions of population to about four thousand three hundred clergy. One clergyman to every 917 in the former; one to every 1900† in the latter case. Yet it is the

* The *nine* dioceses of Canterbury, Chichester, Rochester, Winchester, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Gloucester and Bristol, Oxford, and Exeter, have 7088 clergy to 6,471,700 of population.

The *six* dioceses of Durham, Chester, Lichfield, Manchester, York, and Ripon, have 4317 clergy to 8,197,624 of population.

† It must be borne in mind that this is an average, and that the number of parishes with very small populations in such counties as Northumberland, York, Derby, parts of Durham, and Lancashire is very considerable.

North, with its teeming populations, which is more and more influencing the nation as a whole. Such a matter as this, and the closely connected subjects of our clergy supply, patronage, and the due regulation of the sale of advowsons, should surely come under the joint consideration of a central body of laity and clergy duly authorised, giving the subject continuous attention, responsible to the nation and the Church at large, and taking wider views than we have ever yet seen taken either by bishop or by layman. A narrow parochialism is still the vice of the Church of England. The revival of diocesan activity has somewhat mended it; but we want more than that; we need the strengthening in every department of our central action; and we know of nothing better to suggest than such a combination of clerical deputies from a reformed Convocation,* with a Committee of Council on the part of the State.

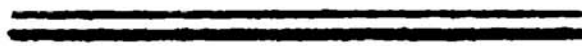
And then, lastly, this would react on the dioceses and compel the extension of the system so happily commenced in Ely by the present Bishop of Winchester, and in Salisbury by Bishop Moberly, of Diocesan Conferences on Church matters, in which laity and clergy can confer together. It would not only lead to their extension, it would also give them point and object. And while so doing it would tend to check what is at present the least satisfactory side of the revived activity of the clergy themselves, we mean the increase among the best of them of mere clericalness. Specialisation is the vice of the age among men who really work. And the more faithfully that a clergyman devotes himself to his duties the more he abridges, of necessity, his points of contact with laymen of his own standard of education and of his own standing in society. To numbers this is an enormous self-denial. All honour to them for the motive which leads them to put up with it; but it does its mischief both to them and to the laity, and yet the increasing division of labour of modern life tends to increase it more and more. We do not see how to mend it better than by bringing the educated laity more into their place in matters of Church policy and progress. The engrossments of clerical duty on the part of those clergy who really work are not likely to diminish, and the laity themselves would be as much benefited as the clergy by having their recognised spheres in their mutual work and duties. Of all things the most dangerous to the English Church would be for its clergy to subside into a caste.

* One point here must not be forgotten. Most of the members of our existing Convocations are rural clergy, able men in their own way; but what we want is the town clergy as well; clergy from the places where the Church needs extending.

But we must be drawing to a close, otherwise we should have liked to say something on the need of some provision beginning to be made for gradual diocesan extension, and the increase of bishops answering to that which set in forty years ago in the department of parochial subdivision and the increase of our parochial clergy. The two only cases we have had of genuinely new dioceses are of most happy augury. In our April number we endeavoured to sketch out the work of Bishop Wilberforce in organising the then recently consolidated diocese of Oxford. Two histories, not indeed so brilliant, but we believe of not inferior value, might be written of the rise and progress of the two northern dioceses of Ripon and of Manchester. As yet *carent vate sacro*. It is a pity. For those who know the North know that the tale is worth the telling; not merely in justice to those who did the work, but for the sake of those who have yet their work to do in the extended usefulness of England's Church and England's Episcopate. The time is propitious for enterprises such as we have indicated. For the moment, if we have *malaise* within the Church, we have at least freedom from external aggression. We have a House of Commons, returned in a moment of reaction against Nonconformist exclusiveness and unfairness, disposed to give fair play to any honest and reasonable plans for the better self-action and self-extension of the Church. We have a Government heartily disposed to distinguish itself by a wise and enduring Church policy. We have a Prime Minister little likely to fall into petty grooves of law-making, and, both by temperament and mental constitution, qualified as well as disposed to lay large foundations, not indeed of novel structures, but of the legitimate development of ancient institutions and ancient principles. Of these ancient principles, the co-operation of Church and State is one of the most ancient. Sometimes better, sometimes worse, the two have managed to work together for twelve hundred years; and the better they have worked together, the better for the nation. The time is certainly arrived when the *modus* of their co-operation needs adaptation, adjustment, and invigoration. Add to this that Church Extension is the only sure means of Church Defence; * and that unless

* We have had before us a large packet of the publications of 'The Church Defence Institution,' 25, Parliament Street; and it has been to our great regret that we have been unable in our limited space to call attention to it more prominently. This at least it makes perfectly clear, that the attack upon the Church will be renewed with a vehemence unknown before, and that the enemies of the Church are working all the more energetically because they are cautious enough, for the present, to be working quietly. This Society should be supported and its papers read.

our breathing-time is well used in planning out new work, our case will be worse five years hence than it was five years ago. At all events, we are sure that all honest Churchmen will share the hope, which is indeed our full belief, that the existing *malaise* in our ecclesiastical affairs will lead up to such a rearrangement in our Church administration as will be found hereafter to have been the point of departure for a fresh career of Church expansion and Church usefulness.



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